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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

JAYASWAL COMMEMORATION VOLUME

DECEMBER 1937

PATNA

PUBLISHED BY THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

Price Rs. 5

JAYASWAL COMMEMORATION VOLUME

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JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

DECEMBER 1937

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Born in 1881—Died on August 4, 1937

// JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XXIII] 1937 [PART IV

JAYASWAL COMMEMORATION VOLUME

From

Sir E. A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (Retd.)

To

The Honorary Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

Dear Sir,

I have heard with the deepest regret of the untimely death of my old and valued friend, Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal.

Of his great services to the cause of historical and antiquarian research, especially in Bihar and Orissa, others are more competent than I am to give an appreciation But as one who has been closely interested in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, ever since its foundation in 1915, I may say that Jayaswal's services to that Society have been of outstanding importance. His valuable contribu-

tions to the Society's Journal far outnumber those of any member; and throughout its existence he has been a very active member of the Council. His loss is, I greatly fear, irreparable.

Yours truly,
E. A. GAIT

KASHI PRASAD JAYASWAL

Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal first came into prominence in northern India when as a young man he went to England as a student and started writing articles in Hindi about his experiences there. It was not then so well known that he was utilising his time at Oxford in making a special study of ancient Indian History; but his friends were aware that he was diving deep into the mysteries of the past and he was credited with a knowledge and study of the Chinese language and literature. He also freely participated in the political activities of his compeers in England for which he remained a suspect for a pretty long time in India. Thus when he returned to India his reputation had travelled in advance of him and he had three classes of friends and admirers. There were the Hindi writers and readers who admired in him his courage and sagacity and his love of his mother tongue and hoped that he would enrich the growing literature of Hindi by his writings. There were scholars and historians who hoped much from him and whose hopes were amply fulfilled in course of time by his researches. Lastly there were his near and dear ones who naturally hoped that his talents would bring honour and fame and also money from his practice at the Bar. He had a handicap to overcome on account of his political views and activities in England which made the police and the Government suspicious.

Soon after his return he became a popular figure not only in the Bar Library in Calcutta but also in the learned world. I know that at a very early stage he was offered the chair of History in the Benares Hindu University which he was unable to accept. The Calcutta University offered him a Professorship which he accepted but which for political reasons he could not retain. In Calcutta he was thus engaged partly in Educational work and partly in his professional work at the Bar. By the time the Patna High Court was opened, he had established a position at the Bar and had already acquired a great reputation as a historian and research worker. He came to Patna and continued his activities in both directions. Till the last day of his life he retained his double love.

It was an enigma how in the midst of his professional activities he found time to study the ancient records on stone and coin, in manuscripts and architecture. Many also wondered whether he loved law or ancient history more. I have no doubt in my mind that he was a historian by choice and instinct and a lawyer by compulsion. His own inclinations and talents attracted him towards history but the demands of the flesh dragged him towards law courts and law reports.

It is not for a layman like me to assess the value of his researches. But I am not aware that anything he has written or advocated as a result of his researches has been seriously challenged by scholars or displaced or falsified by later researches. Sriyut Rakhal Das Banerji, another historian who passed away in the prime of life after leaving an impress on

all that he touched, once told me that Dr. Jayaswal had a peculiar knack of tumbling on new interpretation of old facts. Many a thing that another scholar would pass by would furnish to him the starting point of a fresh series of researches and would ultimately form the basis of a well-established theory which would stand the test and scrutiny of other scholars.

Above all, Dr. Jayaswal was an ardent patriot. His researches were inspired by love of country whose achievements in the past he felt it his duty to expound to the world. Yet he was not a blind lover of everything ancient. The critical faculty which enabled him to separate the false from the true in his historical researches was also brought fully to bear on the social defects and shortcomings of our people and made him an earnest social reformer. He became a great admirer of Buddhist thought and literature and, if I mistake not, had a leaning towards the teaching of Buddha.

His researches in the domain of history will be treasured by scholars and historians. But every Indian and particularly every Bihari will remember his researches for the blow they struck on the self-complacent theory that had been sedulously propagated and uncritically accepted that we have never had anything like a democratic government in this country and that Indians know and understand only an absolute government. His history of the early republics of Bihar showed how they flourished not only in small cities but over large tracts and not only for a short period but for centuries and established once for all that forms of democracy were an indigenous

growth and have left their imperishable impress on our lives which have lasted through centuries of autocratic rule in the village life of our people.

Sadakat Ashram RAJENDRA PRASAD
14th December, 1937

Dr. K. P. JAYASWAL—THE BARRISTER AND MAN—A CHARACTER SKETCH

By A Colleague at the Bar

I have been requested to contribute a short article to the special number of the Magazine in Commemoration of Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal. The only condition was that the article should be "worthy of the occasion"—and the subject of the article was left entirely to my choice. To attempt to write on any of the erudite subjects associated with Dr. Jayaswal's name was an impossibility. That must be left to those with more profound scholarship than a mere dilettante can claim to possess. On Indian Pictorial Art, a subject with which I may claim a modest acquaintance, much has already been written, including certain contributions addressed to the man in the street by myself. That ground has been exhausted. What then could I contribute to this commemorative volume? In this dilemma some one suggested an Article on Jayaswal, the barrister and man—a character sketch of a remarkable personality. Glancing through the numerous obituary notices on Dr. Jayaswal, I found that there was but scanty reference to his professional career. That department of his activities had been submerged by the deservedly copious references to his brilliant achievements in the wider fields of scholarly research, in other words to Jayaswal, "the international," whose reputation had

spread from China to Peru as a profound scholar of India's ancient languages, history, culture and laws. The authorship of "Hindu Polity," by itself, would have sufficed to place him in the forefront of those who strive to penetrate the secrets of India's past, to rewrite the lost pages of its distant and elusive history; but "Hindu Polity" was only one of the many important contributions to the subject so near his heart. As for Jayaswal the man, the obituary notices could hardly be expected to give an adequate exposition of his character and personality, as known to those who met him daily and knew him intimately.

The legal profession to which he was always proud to belong may well claim that his training at the Bar—with its constant call on one's mental resources to appreciate values correctly, to sift essentials from non-essentials, to draw legitimate inferences pro tanto from facts proven or morally proven—was an invaluable asset to Jayaswal, the searcher after the recondite, the constructive theorist of a buried past. Open at haphazard any article or work by Dr. Jayaswal on any of the controversial subjects with which he dealt, and it will be obvious that the evidence is being weighed and the facts marshalled by one practised in these arts and not by a mere doctrinaire. All known circumstances are considered which can bear on the problem and the handling is that of the expert. If imagination played a part in his deductions it was a small part. Moreover, descended as he was from generations of Hindus, steeped in Hindu lore himself, may it not be suggested that in his case it was inspiration rather than imagination which

served him and placed him at an advantage vis á vis his Western compeers? Be that as it may, no theories or inferences in such fields of research can ordinarily be classed as final and authoritative. The doctrine of 'res judicata' can not apply to such findings; they must ex necessitate be controversial—and no body realised this better than Dr. Jayaswal himself. His training at the Bar equipped him to bear with equanimity the storm of criticism raised by other scholars and savants at what they characterised as audacious speculation on insufficient material. He used to say that his purpose had been partially served, even if his views merely raised a genuine controversy. Then others would be stimulated to fresh efforts; further research may result in fresh discoveries, new light thrown on a subject which had no limitations. Had not Dr. Vincent Smith been constrained to revise his opinions in successive editions of his *Early History of India*? And had not Dr. Jayaswal's researches and publications led to revision of such views not by Dr. Vincent Smith alone but also by other scholars of international repute?

The writer was in constant and intimate touch with Dr. Jayaswal since the latter joined the Patna High Court at its inception in 1916—and it was in the years that followed that much of his best work was given to the world. "Hindu Polity"—after many vicissitudes—was finally published in 1924. Very frequently in the Bar Library, during leisure moments, did we discuss some of his conclusions based on recent study and research. Not infrequently I thought his conclusions were based on somewhat slender material

and I expressed the thought quite frankly to him—a privilege which he never resented for many reasons: For some years he had served as a member of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum during my Presidentship of that Committee—and I had relied greatly on his expert knowledge and advice in matters archaeological and historical. For many years I had been a member—interested but ignorant—of the B. & O. Research Society, of which he was a main pillar, a stalwart. For many years, too, as President of the Bar Association—*i.e.* the English Bar—I had found in him a staunch and loyal colleague and supporter. When he was to receive the Hony. Doctorate of philosophy from Patna University in 1936, he said he hoped I would be present. When I assured him that nothing short of an earthquake would mark me absent, his face beamed like that of a child over a new toy and he gave expression to simple unforgettable words of gratitude:

> "Alas! the gratitude of man
> Has oftener left me mourning"

was my thought. The affectionate gesture, however, remains a very pleasing memory—an incident, insignificant in itself, but throwing a side-light on the human side of our Dr. of Philosophy. Hundreds would be there to applaud the reward of meritorious service to Knowledge, yet his happiness would not be complete if one was not there. The glow of a personal tie was not to be dimmed by the glare of a public acclaim.

Frequently too I consulted him unofficially on

questions of Hindu Law, even when he was not my junior in the case. When he happened to be briefed with me, his learning and scholarship in all branches of Hindu Law were freely placed at my disposal; in fact he coached me—the voice in Court was mine, the brain was his. When the point was particularly abstruse, requiring the elucidation of ambiguous Sanskrit texts, I left the whole of that topic entirely to him, and it was a pleasure to hear him expound the law and the sages.

Like that of most scholars, his delivery on such occasions was slow and measured, every word carefully chosen, every sentence deliberately enunciated. Rhetorical flights or the impassioned oratory, which wins verdicts from Juries in Criminal trials, were not in his composition. In fact he rarely appeared on the criminal side, nor was he known as a great cross-examiner. The Civil side of practice was more suited to his equipment and temperament—and that is where he shone. Interruptions from the Bench never flustered him—interruptions by his opponents he was less tolerant of. Generally he met such interruptions with a pithy remark, short, terse and to the point, which covered the interruptor with ridicule. With a strong sense of dry humour, ridicule was a facile and effective weapon in his hands. The following anecdote illustrates this faculty:

Mr. A a Mohammadan barrister had a case of his own and asked Jayaswal to go down to the Magistrate's Court to cross-examine Mr. A's opponent a Rajput Hindu. The first question put by the cross-examiner was: Are you my sala (brother-in-

law, but also a term of abuse in India)? There was great consternation in Court. Had the learned counsel gone mad or had he forgotten all the proprieties? The witness looked puzzled, but the cross-examiner remained unperturbed and the cross-examination continued:

Q.—Are you not married in the same village as Mr. A?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And according to Indian custom that makes you Mr. A's sala?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And you know that Mr. A & I are brothers as barristers.

A.—Yes.

Q.—And that makes you my sala as well, does it not?

There was no answer. Every one laughed, the poor witness was completely discomfited and accepted all Jayaswal's suggestions thereafter. In the Bar Library and specially in the luncheon room during the luncheon interval, the humorist par excellence was always Jayaswal—no matter what the topic under discussion—from the idiosyncrasies of a learned judge to the foibles of his colleagues. Being an excellent mimic, he punctuated his sallies with a by-play of face, voice, and manner in imitation of the subject of his story. No one was immune if the occasion arose; but it was all done with such complete good humour that resentment was out of the question. One had to laugh at one's self as seen in the mirror of Jayaswal's creation. A vocal caricaturist of no mean order

was this placid scholarly gentleman in his middle age.

In one of the many excellent obituary notices on Dr. Jayaswal, this appeared: "Dr. Jayaswal was not only a scholar but a patriot and a nationalist to the very marrow of his bones." That was undoubtedly true—but in one matter his views were hardly nationalistic. When the Bar Council Act levelled us up, abolished the privileges theretofore enjoyed by the English Bar in this country, Jayaswal was probably more wrathful than any of us. He really resented this legislation, and many were the quips that flowed from his tongue during the early days of the operation of the new enactment. He was a genuine believer in the high traditions of the Bar in England and he foresaw that the new Act would be the death-knell of the English Bar. Perhaps his strong nationalistic spirit itself made him apprehensive that the complete elimination in course of time of counsel—Indian or British—called to the Bar in England, would not be productive of benefit to the Indian litigant or the Indian Bench. In this respect he was not singular. Many eminent colleagues of the Indian Bar have expressed similar views to the writer.

One day he told us the following story himself: A client came to him and said his master had a case but wanted to know whether Jayaswal was a Mohammadan or a Bengalee. "Why does he want to know this?" queried Jayaswal. "Because they say Mohammadans are good cross-examiners, while Bengalees are good speakers" replied the client. "Then tell your master I am a Bengalee Mohammadan," said Jayaswal quite seriously! He added "That satisfied the fools

and they engaged me. Now they know I am a Hindu from the United Provinces, God knows what they will do." A wag replied "Report you to the Bar Council of course—you had better run to Bengal and turn Mohammadan !"

Once the biter was bit : Owing to the presence of a venerable Mohammadan litigant with a remarkable flowing beard, the talk at our "Round Table" ran on beards. The learned Dr. held forth on their sanctity and utility in times ancient and modern, amongst Jews and Gentiles alike, and not only amongst Muslims, and then by way of lending point to his semi-humorous discourse on beards, he turned to a Mohammadan Colleague, a particular friend of his, and addressed him thus : "There is my friend X a pious Muslim ; he would never dare to pull that old gentleman's beard". A bet was offered and accepted. Mr. X went very politely up to the old and bearded pard, engaged him in affable conversation about the deterioration of manners in these democratic days and so forth. "For instance" he continued "I saw a youth the other day having an altercation with an old man with a grey beard like yours, and what do you think the young man did ? he actually seized the old man's beard like this and shook it like this" suiting the deed to the words by giving the old gentleman's beard a fairly vigorous shake ! With a disarming smile the shaker added : "Disgraceful, was it not"? The old fellow agreed—and the bet had been won. K. P. J. fled into Court : Scholars do not like to be laughed at over much!

To his colleagues, it was a matter of wonder how

he found time in the midst of a busy professional life and a rapidly rising practice to pursue his real Love, Research. The fact is that the Research scholar was a handicap to the barrister. The study of comparative law, the quest of ancient systems of jurisprudence in Hindustan were of absorbing interest. The practice of the law with its briefs and fees and dreary hours in modern Courts were necessary evils—to be borne because even scholars can not live on mental pabulum alone. A scholar with a large family needs to think in terms of daily rations. He would have preferred to echo Plato's thought that philosophers might be kings and kings philosophers—but as this could not be, he compromised: The daylight hours found him a matter of fact busy barrister; but once the day's work was over, he doffed his work-a-day garb and with it his work-a-day thoughts, and sat late into the night and the small hours of the morning in a world of real interest to him, unravelling the mysteries of this grand old Hindustan, his beloved mother country, his dream land. It was during these quiet and undisturbed hours that he did the real work of his life, the work which made him famous in the old World and the new. Some times he sat alone, some times with others equally interested in his particular branch of Research—the reading and interpretation of ancient inscriptions and manuscripts leading to fresh archaeological discoveries, so that the past may inspire the present. His home in Patna attracted Hindu and Buddhist scholars from far and wide—their minds were in tune with his and they were ever welcome to his hospitable roof. Here they supped late and

debated even later the meaning of this, the purport of that, Jayaswal's trained legal mind balancing the evidence, weighing the pros and cons and formulating the precise results on the material available. These results were then given to the world in his numerous articles, his lectures and his more comprehensive works. Strangely enough, despite this life of intellectual dissipation, he always seemed to be fresh and vigorous and full of fun when he walked into the Bar Library at the usual hour. Perhaps this freshness was due to the early morning bath in the holy waters of the Ganges, which flows past Patna, for that was his daily practice. There, no doubt he did his worship and perhaps had visions of and drew inspiration from ancient imperial Pataliputra. Was there not in the Patna Museum, of which he was President for some years, many an interesting relic excavated from the long buried remains of that ancient City of the Hindu Raj, that citadel of Hindu culture?—Surely it was in the fitness of things that this erudite Hindu should have spent his best years on the site of Pataliputra.

Yet this dual life took its toll and, all unobserved by those who knew him best, undermined his constitution and cut him off in the prime of life, leaving unfulfilled his cherished dream of a connected History of India from the earliest times.

His attitude to religion was worthy of the man. His wide reading and deep-thinking gave him a breadth of vision in matters religious. He saw good in all the great religions of the civilised world, respected the Teachers and founders of each and scoffed at the precepts and tenets of none. He may be

said to have adopted, perhaps unconsciously, a doctrine of the Stoical system : Not only are we all brethren, but also the "children of one Father." In more serious mood, he compared the lives of the Teachers and emphasised how environment and circumstances had influenced their teachings. In lighter mood, he humorously exposed the cant and hypocrisy of avowed followers of all Religions. Flashes of humour, however, always illumined even his most serious talks.

Whatever may have been Jayaswal's attitude to Indian Politics in his younger days, in more mature days his mind was remarkably free from prejudice. He had made too many contacts with the intellectuals of the West to believe that nothing good could come from that quarter. On the other hand his critical mind perceived the necessity for reform in many directions ; and always he was intolerant of humbug and pretence, on whichever side of the political fence these qualities were to be found. More than this it would not be proper to divulge, without a breach of confidence. I may, however, quote a passage from the Mahabharata as translated on the front page of "Hindu Polity" :

> When traditional State Ethics are departed from, all the bases of the divisions of individual life are shattered.

That was his view and at that view no one can cavil.

Apart from his pre-eminence as an authority on Hindu Law, there was another line in which he was recognised at the Bar, as 'facile princeps' and that was the Law of Income Tax. He had specialised in this line and there was hardly an Income Tax case of any

importance in this Province (Bihar) in which he did not appear—and generally led—for the assessee. In this connection it may be of interest to record that he was all for the taxation of agricultural income, which has always been exempted from tax in permanently settled areas *i.e.* the areas covered by the famous Permanent Settlement Regulation of 1793, promulgated by "The Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Governor-General in Council empowered by the Honourable Court of Directors for the affairs of the East India Company" (to quote the high sounding language of the Regulation, language which the learned Doctor thoroughly approved of as dignified and appropriate). He ventilated these views in an article published shortly before his death and thereby displayed a rare courage, for he well knew that such an article would alienate his Zamindar clientèle and perhaps cost him many a brief. But that was Jayaswal, as fearless a publicist as he was an Advocate. Conventions or convenience mattered little to him, convictions mattered most.

In the summer of 1934 I met him in London. He had gone on an important Income Tax matter to instruct and "junior" a famous K. C. in the Appeal to the Privy Council. With the Board's permission, Jayaswal followed his senior and created an instant impression. I dropped in for a while to hear the proceedings. Three law lords sat in morning coats at a table—the senior lord in the middle, wearing a button-hole! They wore no robes, no wigs—though counsel were fully robed. The wholly unconventional atmosphere suited the learned counsel from

India, and his audience was appreciative. So he was at his best; so much so that he was then and there briefed in another matter before that august Tribunal, and succeeded. When we met later, Jayaswal was greatly intrigued by the button-hole, thought he might wear one himself next time, "not to be outdone by the Bench" as he put it. I told him he would not be "seen"—and he agreed—but added "What about a flower in my wig like the girls in Burma?" Such was the learned counsel and erudite scholar in private life, but I doubt if his colleagues in the West saw anything of this side of the man. One associates deep scholarship and learning with a dry as dust temperament, devoid of humour. If that is the rule, Jayaswal was an exception; but I have known other exceptions in India, though never such an exceptional exception.

The learned Dr. loved beauty—no matter in what form or shape or material it evinced itself. Often he held forth to me on the beautiful symmetry and proportions of the Taj at Agra, comparing its glorious arches with those of the West, and its general architectural effects with Rajput architecture. Particularly was he struck by the skill with which the decorators of the Taj had proportioned the sizes of the letters in the Persian inscriptions over the entrance arch so that all the letters of the different lines, one above the other, appeared to be of the same length to the observer below. "After that," he used to say, "critics say we Indians had no sense of perspective."

The Patna Museum was built during the writer's Presidentship of the Committee—all honorary offices—of that institution. Previously we had been housed

in a wing of the High Court for want of an adequate building. After much insistence, the Government of the day sanctioned an adequate sum for a home worthy of the many excellent exhibits already collected. That day Jayaswal, a member of the Committee, was a happy enthusiastic man ! He was determined that the building should combine the grace and merits of both the Mogul and Rajput styles of architecture, within the limits of the grant. We all agreed. Backwards and forwards went the plans from the Committee to the capable engineers charged with the construction. With such an excellent "fidus Achates" at my elbow, my task was easy. Again mine was the pen—his the inspiration, helped by that other profound scholar and Jayaswal's colleague in Research work, Dr. Banerjee Shastri. Thus emerged the beautiful Museum in the Mogul-Rajput style which Patna boasts of today.

This love of the beautiful he carried into his home, of which he was justly proud. Unable to indulge in expensive objets d'art, he was always picking up artistic little works of man's hand to beautify his home. Incidentally, he loved the pretty little gold fish darting about in a specially constructed font in his garden—also a tiny graceful deer in a special cage. They pleased his artistic sense—appealed to his simple nature. Enter his drawing room and one was immediately struck by the Catholic mentality and tastes of this true cosmopolitan. Side by side were modern but artistic figures of the Christ and the Virgin Mary, purchased in Spain, and mediaeval sculptures of the Buddha, and gods of the Hindu pantheon.

Who but Jayaswal would have dared to mix them thus, and not only the different religious figures but also the modern and the mediaeval in religious art? To his mind, there was nothing incongruous in this juxtaposition. His face, beaming with genuine joy over these possessions, had a curious reaction on the visitor—as though a pigmy mind had secretly and foolishly smiled at a giant mind and been detected in the act. One left chastened in spirit, not by any word or look from the ever courteous host, but by the grand simplicity of his character.

Whom the gods love die young—Dr. Jayaswal died young.

P. C. MANUK
Barrister-at-Law
President, High Court Bar Association, Patna

I do not pretend that this short article complies with the sole condition laid down, viz. that it should be "worthy of the occasion" I give it to the world through the pages of this Volume as my modest contribution to the memory of a friend and colleague—in response to the invitation by the Editor of this Magazine, another personal friend whose request could not be refused.—P. C. M.

SOME REMARKS ON THE MODELS OF THE BODH GAYA TEMPLE FOUND AT NAR-THANG

Shortly before his last illness Dr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal sent me copies of the photographs reproduced in *JBORS*. XXIII, Pt. I (March 1937) facing p. 17, of two models, one in stone and one in wood, of the great temple at Bodh Gayā found by Śrī Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana at Nar-thang monastery in the course of his now famous second journey to Tibet in 1936. He suggested that I should write a note about them for publication in the *JBORS*. In reply, I pointed out the difficulty of doing this on the evidence of the two photographs only, and without further details. He had mentioned, in his letter, for example, that the gateways of the stone model bore inscriptions and that there was an inscription in Chinese characters on the wooden model (copies of these inscriptions have not been sent to me), and also that a record in Tibetan had been discovered in the monastery written by a Tibetan monk named Lo-tsa-va, who had been an eye-witness of an attack on Bodh Gayā by Muhammadan soldiery. In his paper published in the issue of the Journal quoted above, Śrī Rāhula writes that this diarist had described the position of many sites inside and outside the walls of Mahābodhi. I do not know whether a complete copy was made of this diary and, if so, whether it is proposed to publish a

translation of it : it might help towards establishing the time at which the stone model was made, and perhaps also in identifying certain of the parts thereof. Assuming, however, that these models were intended to depict the condition of the great temple and its surroundings within its enclosure wall at the close of the twelfth century or, say *circa* 1200 A.C., there are some features seen in the photographs to which attention may be directed. I shall attempt to do this in the following lines, as a tribute to the memory of a friend for whose brilliant intellectual gifts and valuable original researches into the past history of his motherland I had profound admiration.

That the stone model had been brought from the Gayā district appears to be reasonably certain from the fact that, as Śrī Rāhula tells us, it is wrought "in the black stone of Gayā," that is to say, in the soft stone quarried from the Pattharkaṭṭī hill (some 3 mi. north of Ṭeṭuā), which has been used for sculptural purposes for centuries past. The texture of this stone would also account for the worn condition of the parts of this model. We know that it was a custom at the chief sites sacred to Buddhists to prepare locally mementos of such character in stone or baked clay which were taken away by pious pilgrims (see in this connexion A. Foucher in *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-Feb. 1911, and Cunningham's preface to his *Mahabodhi*, p. ix., note 1). Let us presume, then, that these models fairly represent the conditions at the site at the end of the 12th century. The wooden model, which is in a much better state of preservation, seems to have been an exact copy of the stone one, as the

dimensions are similar. Each shows a rectangular walled enclosure with three elaborate gateways (on the east, south and north), a large central temple, and a number of other shrines and *stūpas* inside the walls. Besides the central temple and the three gateways, in the case of the stone copy there are eleven (or perhaps twelve) other models, and in the case of the wooden copy, about twenty other models, as well as two portions of a railing, which was probably intended to represent the Śuṅga railing that surrounded the temple. Some of the *stūpas* seem to show features of Tibetan character. The wooden model, Dr. Jayaswal thought, was probably made in Tibet, and by a Chinese carver, as it bears an inscription in Chinese characters. In the case of both models, unfortunately, the pieces have been shifted, so that it is not possible to compare their positions with Hsüan-tsang's description or with the location of the sites mentioned by him suggested by Cunningham. In some respects, however, the models will be found to bear out the account of the site given by the great Chinese pilgrim.

The Enclosure Wall—According to the models this formed a rectangle, longer from north to south than from east to west. The proportion of length to breadth is about as 6 to 5, as Dr. Jayaswal stated in his letter referred to above that each of the models measured about 30″ by 25″. It may be noted that this is practically the same proportion that Cunningham assigned to the original enclosure round Aśoka's temple (*Mahabodhi*, Pl. II). When the big brick temple, as seen by Hsüan-tsang, had been built

and the railings re-erected and extended, the courtyard included within the outer wall appears to have been longer from east to west. Hsüan-tsang, according to Watters (Vol. II, p. 113), describes the enclosing walls as being built of brick, high and strong, and the enclosure as being long from east to west and narrow from north to south, and above 500 paces in circuit. At some period after the pilgrim's visit, and prior to the making of the stone model, the shape would therefore seem to have been altered, making it longer from north to south, as it has since remained. The present contour will be seen from Cunningham's plan of the temple courtyard (*Mahabodhi*, Pl. XVIII), from which it will be noticed that the proportion of the length from N. to S. to the breadth from E. to W. is roughly as 6 to 5, and that the inside circuit would measure about 460 yards, or, say, 550 of Hsüan-tsang's paces. If we regard the Nar-thang models as having been prepared roughly to scale, and if we take the base of the model of the central temple to be 50 ft. broad (Hsuan-tsang's 20 paces), the length of the courtyard from N. to S., which looks about seven times the width of the temple base, would be roughly 350 ft., and the breadth 290 ft. This would make the circuit approximately 510 of Hsüan-tsang's paces. The similarity between these proportions perhaps enhances the value of the models.

The wall shown in the models has disappeared, but some portion of it, or possibly of a later wall that replaced it, was, I believe, to be seen in 1880, when the deep accumulation of silt and debris that covered the courtyard was removed. In the possession

of Lady Holmwood are a number of photographs taken during the restoration operations by Mr. James Keddie, the then District Engineer of Gayā, to whom was entrusted the actual work under the supervision of Mr. J. D. Beglar. These photographs illustrate the progress of the work in its different stages. In one of them, taken from the temple terrace looking N.-E., may be seen the eastern end of a boundary wall on the north of the courtyard. The same corner may be seen in a photograph, taken a little later apparently, which has been reproduced in Cunningham's Pl. XXI. If my memory does not fail me, a portion of a similar enclosure wall was to be seen in the south-western corner of the compound. It will be noticed from Cunningham's plate that this wall had niches at intervals. Examination of the Nar-thang wooden model shows that the surrounding wall bore sculptures (which are not identifiable from the photograph). Is it possible that the niches in the wall referred to above contained Buddhistic images?

In quite recent times, when the old boundary wall had crumbled into ruins, another thick and coarsely built brick wall was constructed much closer to the temple, and so reducing the area of the courtyard. This unsightly wall, wholly out of keeping with its environment, which had been plastered and whitewashed, with gateways at all four points of the compass, appears in several of Mr. Keddie's photographs, and the eastern gate is seen in Mitra's Pl. XVII. This wall was, I believe, built by the Burmese in 1877 in the course of their repair work, the nature of which induced the Local Government to take the

work of restoration into their own hands. It was demolished and entirely removed in 1880, when the existing fence wall was set up, restoring the courtyard to its old dimensions more or less.

Gateways—It is questionable whether any structure in situ at present can be regarded as showing remains, or marking the position, of the northern and southern gateways of the models. The case of the eastern gateway is perhaps different. When Cunningham first examined the Bodh Gayā site in Dec.-Jan. 1861-62, he found an old brick-built thick archway due east of the great temple, some 75 or 80 feet therefrom. This archway he has marked on his plan in *A. S. I.* Vol. I, Pl. IV, facing p. 6, which shows that the walls must have been at least 15 to 20 ft. wide. The only illustration of this old archway that I have seen is that in Pl. XV to Rajendralala Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, which is stated (p. xi) to have been reduced from a photograph, taken in 1864, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. If this be examined it will be evident that this was no ordinary archway, but what remained of a massive gateway, the superstructure of which had fallen in the course of time. The great depth of the masonry indicates the weight which the arch had originally supported. Is it possible that this ruin represented all that was left of the eastern gateway of the models? Its position seems at least to suggest this question.

In one respect at all events these models bear out the description of Hsüan-tsang. The pilgrim tells us definitely that there were three gates, one on the east leading to the Nairañjana river, one on the

south leading to the tank made by the Brāhmaṇa's brother, and one on the north leading to the Mahābodhi monastery. These are doubtless the three gates of the models.

The Great Temple—There are certain points of interest in the model of the great temple itself which should be noticed. When, in 1880, the difficult question of how to restore the obliterated features of the old monument was under consideration, a small damaged stone model of a temple was found amongst the ruins, which Cunningham with that remarkable intuition he so often displayed, held to be a model showing the design of the temple in medieval times. This fragment is shown in Pl. XVI of his *Mahabodhi*. Cunningham had also recognised at the S.-W. corner of the terrace the foundations of what he concluded to have been a corner pavilion. Acting on this evidence and on that of the presumed 'model,' on one corner of which was the stump of what might have been such a pavilion, Mr. Beglar drew the design which was given effect to in the restoration. If the stone model of the central temple found at Nar-thang be compared with the broken one found amid the ruins, the close resemblance between the two will at once be apparent. For example, on the proper left front (the other side has been broken off) of the porch of the Bodh Gayā model we see the same kind of pillar and a similar sculptured figure surmounted by what looks like an elaborate halo on the outer pilaster as in the Nar-thang model. In both cases the details of the carving have been much obliterated, but these may be seen clearly in the wooden model.

Looking at the entrance to the upper chamber the similarity is even more marked : we see the same type of pillar and arch, and the same peculiar radiating lines of moulding above the arch ; and on the face of the tower will be seen similar sculptural ornamentation and figures (presumably of the Buddha). On the Bodh Gayā model may be noticed the base only of the pavilion at the S.-W. corner of the terrace, while on the Nar-thang model the base of the N.-E. pavilion is seen (the tall shrine that appears behind this base in the photograph is obviously no part of the central temple). The wooden model shows all four pavilions complete in place. The comparison can hardly fail to convince the observer that both stone models were made to represent the same temple, and therefore to establish on the one hand the authenticity of the model found at Nar-thang, and on the other hand the correctness of Cunningham's reasoning. The Nar-thang wooden model, in fact, justifies in a striking manner the restoration of the upper parts of the great temple, including the *āmalaka* and finial. It will be recollected that the late Dr. Spooner, when describing (*JBORS*, I, p. 2) the plaque found at Kumhrār, drew special attention to the "fivefold *hti*" as being the most unexpected feature thereof, and suggested that Cunningham had restored what would "seem to have been itself a Burmese restoration made at some intermediate date in ignorance of the original form." We now see that Cunningham restored a form that had persisted perhaps for nearly 700 years, and that the temple portrayed on the plaque must have been a very early one, as the Kharoṣṭhī characters thereon

would indicate (see in this connexion Dr. Sten Konow's paper in *JBORS*, XII, p. 181). Dr. Jayaswal, who had the highest respect for the work of that great pioneer, would have been pleased to know to what extent Cunningham had been vindicated in this matter.

The existence in the Nar-thang models of only one arched doorway in the upper storcy and giving on to the terrace, and its construction, with pillars on either side and a peculiar form of ornamentation overhead (also to be seen above the arch on the eastern gateway, and possibly intended to represent radiating beams of light, or flames), is interesting having regard to the appearance of this front before the restoration of 1880. Cunningham's Pl. XXXI and Mitra's Pl. XVII show the aspect of this front, with the great triangular opening that gave rise to different theories as to the original form of the upper arching. Unfortunately the photographs only show the front view of the temple; but if we look at the north and south views of the Bodh Gayā model on Cunningham's Pl. XVI we see that the upper chamber had a shallow porch, the outer doorway of which had a semicircular arch. Referring next to the photograph of the temple taken in 1863 (see Mitra's Pl. XVI), we can see the remains of the masonry piers and portions of the arch of this porch standing out from the eastern face of the temple shaft, in which are seen the pointed gothic arches, the history of which is still obscure.

Looking at the lower storey in the models, Hsüan-tsang's three lofty halls "connected with the

east side of the temple," as Watters translates, are not there. Had these been constructed of wood they might well have disappeared in the course of 5½ centuries. But there is a high and spacious porch, to judge of its dimensions from the known size of the temple. This was apparently added after Hsüan-tsang's time, probably replacing the lofty halls he saw. That it was an addition to the original building was definitely pointed out by Cunningham, who found that its courses of bricks did not correspond with those of the main body of the temple. According to the pilgrim, on each side of the outer entrance to the halls were images of silver over 10 ft. high of Avalokiteśvara (on the left) and Maitreya (on the right). In the wooden Nar-thang model we see two large figures, which, comparing their size with that of the temple, would measure well over 10 ft. in height. From the photographs, however, it is not possible definitely to identify the images as representing Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. These figures might conceivably have been in stone, or in brick or stucco, as silver images would not have survived the troublous period that ensued after Harsavardhana's death. In any case the representation of these two figures in the Nar-thang models recalls once more the pilgrim's description of the site.

One point remains to be noticed. In neither of the models is there any representation of a *toraṇa* gateway. How Cunningham discovered the remains of the *toraṇa* now facing the eastern doorway of the temple, and the reasons for setting it up, as restored, in its present position, are explained at pp. 32-33

of his *Mahabodhi.* The absence of such a gateway in the models may conceivably be due either (*a*) to the fact that this gateway had fallen down long before the model was made, which is perhaps most probable, or (*b*) to the difficulty of making a model of a slender gateway of such character in soft stone, or (*c*) if made, to its having been broken and lost.

C. E. A. W. O.

VIRAKAL AND SATI MEMORIAL STONES AT BUDDHPUR AND BURĀM

By E. H. C. WALSH

In 1916, when I was Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, when on tour in the district of Manbhum, I went to see the ruined temples at Buddhpur, a village on the Kasai River in the southern part of that district, and, near the temples, found a number of Sati and Virakal memorial stones, which are described below. The people of the neighbourhood had no tradition and knew nothing about them. As I found that they had no religious associations and that they were getting damaged, I obtained the consent of the proprietor of the Manbazar estate to their removal to the Bihar Provincial Museum, who kindly presented the six stones which I asked for (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7) to the Museum. I paid a second visit and took impressions of the inscriptions on the stones, which Dr. Jayaswal kindly read. I was also informed by Mr. Crawford, the Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum, who accompanied me, that there were similar stones at the village of Palma in that neighbourhood. I was not able to visit Palma, but obtained the permission of the proprietress of the Manbazar estate to their removal, and she kindly presented the four stones to the Museum. During the same tour I went to the village of Burām, there found two Virakal memorial

stones and also another stone with an inscription lying on the ground in a field a little distance from the temple, and also another stone near the bank of the river. These stones are described below (Nos. 11, 12 and 13). No one of the neighbourhood knew anything about them, and as they had no religious association, I obtained the consent of the proprietor, Raja Jyoti Prasad Singh Deo of Panchet, to their removal, who kindly presented them to the Museum.

THE BUDDHPUR MEMORIAL STONES

At Buddhpur there is an ancient temple of Buddheśvara Śiva which stood in a large enclosure in the four corners of which there were four subsidiary temples. All the temples are now in ruins, and a modern building of brick and plaster enshrines the object of worship, a huge lingam. Mr. J. D. Beglar, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, visited the temple in 1872 (A. S. I. R. Vol. VIII, p. 197) and gives a full description of the remains of the buildings. From their resemblance in design and details of architecture to the temples at Barakar, they appear to be of the same period as those temples, 1482 A.D. Mr. Beglar considered that there is no doubt that it was, as it now is, a Śaivic temple.

Mr. Beglar refers to the memorial stones which he found near the temple and in the village as follows—(p. 198).

"Besides the stones belonging to the temples, there are numerous other slabs sculptured on one face standing and lying about; my guide said they were tombstones, whereat the ministering Brahmans

of the temple became very indignant; but there can be no doubt notwithstanding the head priest's anger, that the stones referred to are sati pillars; *none are inscribed*, but all are more or less sculptured; the general subjects appear to be a man drawing a bow, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, showing that the husbands of those in whose memories these pillars stand were warriors slain in battle; most of them have animals also sculptured in the topmost compartment.

The lingam in the temple is known as Buddheswar; the people of the place consider it so holy and so well known, as to compare it with the Gadadhar of Gaya. Gadadhar they say at Gaya and Buddheswar at Buddhpur are both equally holy and equally well known.

The material of the temples is a tolerably good sandstone, cut to shape and set plain without any cement.

In the village there are a few *sati pillars*; two of them were inscribed, but the weather has not left the writing legible, and what the weather spared of one appears to have been destroyed purposely by the chisel. I give the inscription in the margin: on the first one, the only word legible is Yuva-raja, in the second, which is also the last line; the first line is illegible."

Mr. Beglar, naturally, was unable to find the inscriptions on the two stones, (Nos. 5 and 7), described below, as the portion of the stones bearing the inscription was, in each case, buried in the ground until I excavated them. He was also mistaken in

taking the "Pillars" which he refers to in the village as being Sati Stones. In each case they are Boundary Marks (Nos. 9 and 10) described below and the inscription which he gives from one of them "in the margin" is the inscription on No. 9.

The district of Manbhum was again visited in 1903 by the Superintendent of the Bengal Circle of that time, who writes as follows in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1902-3, pp. 13-15 :—

"This district *contains a number of mediaeval Hindu and Jain temples of about the fourteenth or fifteenth century* A.D. Their form is quite different from the more recent temples, which are of the usual modern types occurring in Bengal and Bihar. They consist generally of a spire, or *rekha*, with, however, in a few cases, an addition of a *mandapa* in front. The spire is surmounted by a melon dome and a vase, or *kalasa*, instead of which I found in one case a linga, as in the temple at Umga, in Gaya. The ornamentation is generally very plain, and only in a few temples, I found carvings of human or animal figures. The best specimens of this type are *the Barakar temples*, which have been included in this account, *although they belong to a different district.* One of them has an inscription, the date of which corresponds either to the 18th February, or to the 4th *March* 1462 A.D. *This is the only inscription found in any of these temples, but there is good reason to assume that it fixes approximately the period of all other similar monuments.* Their presence in the ancient forest country of Jharkhand points to some sort of civilization, which then must have existed

there, and to this also seems to be due the prevalence of Jain remains here. It is *a well known tradition that the country was taken away by the Hos from the Srawaks, i.e., the Jains*, and it is believed that the latter had come down there to work the numerous copper-ores, instances of which are to be found here and there.

Monuments of a peculiar sort, but of a much later date, are crude stone carvings, which are placed here and there in front of the temples. They generally represent a man either on horseback or running, holding a drawn sword in one hand, and a shield in the other. Sometimes a chowrie-bearer runs behind him, and also another attendant holding an umbrella over his head. With these, often occur, hunting scenes, representing a dog killing some animal, the exact species of which cannot be made out. In *one case these stones have been described as Sati monuments, but I see no reason for this. They are evidently put up as temple-wardens*, just as in modern houses similar figures are still painted near the door. On several stones I found short inscriptions in Bengali characters, but the letters were too much damaged to be read. However, they seemed to contain merely dedicatory records. The shape of the letters shows that they could not be very old."

He visited Buddhpur and described the temple (p. 15) and notes "Here, also, I found numerous monolithic shrines."

There can be no doubt that the Superintendent is wrong in his opinion about this class of Memorial Stones. They are found in many parts of India, and

although with variation as regards the individual figures sculptured on them, they are all of a general type. Nor are they, by any means always found in the vicinity of temples. All authorities who have considered them, from Prinsep and Cunningham onwards have, without exception, considered them to be either Virakals, monuments to warriors killed in battle, or in some cases in hunting wild beasts, or Sati Memorials.

As regard the dates of the inscriptions, that "The shape of the letters shows that they could not be very old," whatever may be the case as regards other inscriptions which the Superintendent may have seen elsewhere, this is not so in the case of the Buddhpur memorials, as is clearly shown by Dr. Jayaswal's dating of the inscriptions from the form of the letters, as being 700 A.D. and 1000 A.D., as noted below.

Virakal and Sati Memorial Stones are found in many places throughout India. The Sati Memorials in some cases, in addition to the human figures depicted, bear an upraised arm and hand, with the sun and moon on either side, as being perpetual witnesses to the Sati's offering; in some cases the hand holds a lime-fruit between the thumb and forefinger. This is what is alluded to in the old inscriptions, where women are said to "have given arm and hand." In some cases this symbol of the upraised hand with sun and moon alone appears. In some cases there is the figure of a snake, indicating the household deity. In some cases also, there is a niche in the monument for a lamp, in which case they are known as Dewalis. The earliest example is a pillar at Balōd

in the Central Provinces, which is now in the Nagpur Museum. This stone had served as a memorial of three successive Satis, and bears three inscriptions. The two later inscriptions are worn off, but the earliest remains and is in characters which Prinsep considered to be of the second century A.D. (A. S. I. R. Vol. VII, p. 136-7). One at Eran is dated in the Gupta year 191, namely 510-11 A.D. (A. S. I. R. Vol. XX, p. 45). One at Baro in Malwa is dated by Cunningham as the 9th or 10th century (A. S. I. R. Vol. X, p. 75). One at Satanwara is dated Samvat 1016=959 A.D. (A. S. I. R. Vol. VII, p. 94). One at Hindoria in the Damoh district of the Central Provinces is dated=1056 A.D. (A. S. I. R. Vol. IX, p. 53), and one at Saura in the Jubbulpur district, Samvat 1355 and Saka 1220=1298 A.D. (A. S. I. R. Vol. IX, p. 41). The majority of the olden stones are of the twelfth or thirteenth century. They are very numerous in the Saugor district of the Central Provinces. Cunningham notes "Khimlasa, an old town 41 miles from Saugor, contains perhaps the largest number of these stones, 51 of which are inscribed. Almost all of them are dated, but in about a dozen pillars the figures are illegible. The dates range between Samvat 1510 (A.D. 1453) to Samvat 1880 (A.D. 1823)" (A. S. I. R. Vol. IX, p. 45), which last is the latest dated example of these stones that has been recorded.

Sir Alexander Cunningham notes: "During my long sojourn in India I have observed that nearly all Sati monuments are placed on the western bank either of a stream or of a reservoir, with the

face towards the east." (A. S. I. R. Vol. IX, p. 41).

The Virakal and Sati monuments are of great interest as showing examples of the dress, weapons and accoutrements, the method of doing the hair, and other particulars of different periods and different localities, and in some cases they refer to the names of the rulers and states or districts of the times.

The Buddhpur stones are described below. Seven of them are illustrated on Plate I.

No. 1 on Plate I. A man on foot with shield in left hand. The right hand is broken off (probably holding a sword). There is a small figure behind him to the left holding an umbrella. The top of the umbrella is broken off. This is an example of an umbrella being held over a footman. The upper part of the head is broken and worn off but shows the large chignon as in examples 2, and 3 (in the lower part), and in 4 and 5. There is no inscription on this stone.

2. A man on foot with leaf-shaped sword in right hand and bow in left. The string of the bow is distinctly shown in this carving which shows that the weapon in this and similar figures is a bow and not a shield. The size of the stone to the foot when excavated is 4 feet 1 inch in height by 19 inches in width and 5 inches in depth. The size of sculptured portion is 26 inches by 19 inches wide.

There are traces of an inscription underneath the panel, but it is so worn and faint that no complete letters can be made out, and no impression of it can be obtained.

The depth of the stone in the ground is 18 inches.

PLATE I

Sati Memorial Stones Near the Temple at Buddhpur

Sati Memorial Stones outside the village at Buddhpur

I had the earth removed.

All the figures have the same large round earrings, which are most distinct in the upper panel of No. 3.

3. A high stone with two panels.

In the upper panel :—

A man on a horse with a sword in the right hand and holding bridle with the left. An attendant behind holding an umbrella. The size of the stone is 7 feet 6 inches in height, of which 22 inches are in the ground, 1 foot 8½ inches in width, and 5½ inches thick.

The hair in this figure is different to the others and is done on the top of the head and not in the large chignon behind. The size of the panel is 34 inches by 20½ inches.

In the lower panel :—

A man on foot with a sword in the right hand and a curved shield in the left. The shield in this is very distinctly and clearly distinguishable from the bow in nos. 2, 4 and 5. There is no attendant with umbrella to this figure and it also has not the large round earrings of the other figures. The size of the panel is 21 inches by 20½ inches. The upper panel is in deeper relief than the lower panel being 2½ inches in depth.

The sword in the upper panel is straight, while in the lower panel it is leaf-shaped.

Beneath the lower panel is a small panel with a seated figure of a woman.

There is *no inscription on this stone* which is rough hewn *below the small panel.*

4. A man on foot with a sword in the right

6

hand and bow in the left, and an attendant holding umbrella. The size of panel is 25 inches by 20 inches. Below this, in a small panel 6 inches high by 5¾ inches wide, is a kneeling female figure with the hands clasped over the lap though too much worn to see the actual attitude of the hands. The figure has the large round earrings, and the hair on the tip of the head bending over to her left. The arms are too worn to see whether there were bracelets or not. The height of the stone is 4 feet 10 inches, of which 22 inches are in the ground. The stone is 20 inches wide.

There *is no inscription on this stone* which is rough hewn below the small panel.

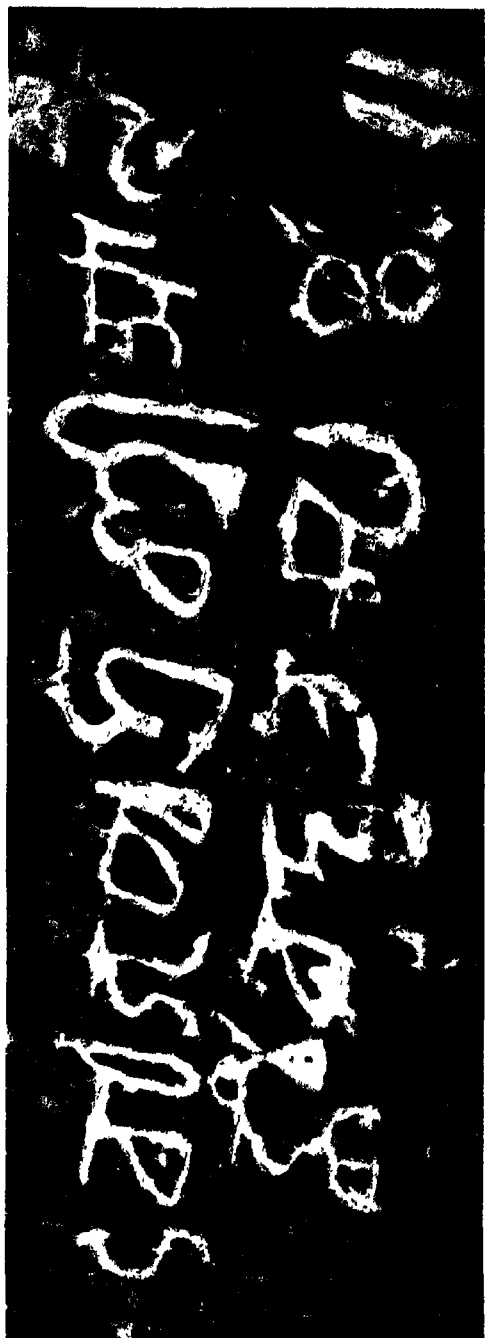
5. A man on foot with a sword in the right hand and bow in the left, with an attendant holding an umbrella. The size of the panel is 16½ inches by 21½ inches.

Below, in a small panel 5 inches by 4½ inches wide, is a small sitting or kneeling female figure in a similar position to the small figure on No. 4.

In this panel neither the man nor the small seated figure have the round earrings, only ears without earrings. There are several bracelets on the left arm. None can be seen on the right which is more worn.

This figure and the line of inscription over it were buried in the ground. The inscription is shown on Plate II(*a*). It reads "Rāja putra Śrī Vaḍadhuga" or a "Chaḍadhuga"—From the form of the characters, by comparison with Bühler's Tables, Dr. Jayaswal was of opinion that the date of their inscription is between 900 and 1000 A.D.

PLATE II

(a) Inscription on Sati Memorial Stone No 5

(b) Inscription on Sati Memorial Stone No. 7

The length of this stone is 5 feet of which 26 inches were above ground and 34 inches below. This stone is smoothed to its whole depth.

The figures have an armlet above the elbow and a bracelet round the wrist on both arms. These are most elaborate in the figure of the horseman in No. (3).

To the east of the above row of monuments and 9 feet behind it are two smaller stones side by side. (5A)—The one to the right has a kneeling female figure similar to the small panels on (3), (4), and (5). The figure has a number of bracelets on both arms; there are six on the left arm which is better preserved. There are traces of an inscription on the base of this stone.

(5B)—The other stone is broken but has had a footman—the legs and dhoti only remain. There is an inscription on the base of this stone.

Stones nos. 3, 4 and 5, which contain the figure of a female in a small panel, and no. 5A which bears only a female figure, are Sati Memorials. On two of these there is an inscription, of which I took an impression, though I do not now find from my notes on which of them they were. The one reads "Ghara-vati Dhruvakasya" "Wife of Dhruvaka." From the form of the characters, which correspond to Bühler's Plate V, Dr. Jayaswal considered the date of the inscription to be about 1000 A.D.

The other reads "Rāja-matae ॥ vaḍa dhucha[?]"—"Of the king's mother Vaḍa dhucha [dhuchā ?]" From the form of the characters, Dr. Jayaswal considered this to be the oldest of the inscriptions, and possibly of the date 700 A.D.

6. On the edge of the village there is a dobha. At the south-west corner of the dobha a stone with a crouching lion on the top, below which is a *panel pointed at the top* containing a horseman with a sword raised in his right hand. He is not accompanied by the attendant holding an umbrella, which appears in the other figures of horsemen, but has earrings though not large and round as in the other figures. This figure was buried in the ground. I had it excavated. The lower part of the stone, which may have borne an inscription, is broken off. This stone is illustrated on Plate I.

7. There is another stone surmounted by a crouching lion. In the panel is a man on foot, with a sword in the right hand and a bow in the left. There is no attendant. There is an inscription below. This stone is illustrated on Plate I, and the inscription on Plate II(*b*). The inscription reads: "Rāja putra Śrī Āṭandrī chadra tasya"—"The late Prince Ātandrī chandra: His." The word āṭandrī is "one who is not sleepy; careful." Dr. Jayaswal noted that the name has its origin in Hindu Political Science, and, hence, it must be the name of a ruling family. From the form of the characters, Dr. Jayaswal considered that the date of the inscription must be somewhere near 900 A.D.

8. Outside the village there is another stone, also surmounted by a lion the head of which is broken off. In the panel there is a warrior on horseback with a sword. *There is the umbrella held over him though* the figure behind holding it does not appear. The stone is surmounted by the crouching lion, the head of

which is broken off. The stone is much worn and rubbed away, and any inscription there may have been has been rubbed off. The dimensions are 5 feet 4 inches in height by 22 inches wide; the average depth is 7½ inches. The dimensions of the carved figure are 22 inches by 22 inches. The carving on this stone is very deep the relief being as much as 2½ inches in depth.

9. At a distance of 100 yards to the north-west of the dobha, a little way in the village is a *small square stone pillar* with figures, in a panel, of two animals one above the other and an inscription below. There is no tradition about this stone. The Pujari of the Buddheswar Shiva Temple says that his grandfather told him that the tradition was that the animals are a donkey above a cow, which the figure also shows it to be.

The animals are represented as in the act of coition and this figure shows the stone to be a Boundary or Jurisdiction Mark, and indicates the curse on any person removing the stone, that he will be reborn as a vile creature with an ass for his father and a cow for his mother. Beneath these figures there is an inscription, which is the inscription referred to and given in the margin, but not translated, by Mr. Beglar. The inscription is [first line] "(—) radaṁ ha [second line] raṁ paṁchā [third line] driśvara [fourth line] sīmā dha [fifth line] jiḥ ye na ha [sixth line] ras-aī"—namely "the boundary flag of the Lord of the Five Mountains [viz. Panchet] which one should not curtail [*or* "decrease"]". From the form of the characters, Dr. Jayaswal considered the

inscription to be of the date 1050 to 1100 A.D.

There are also traces of an inscription in front of the knob at the top of the pillar in smaller letters, ¾ of an inch high; but it is too worn to decipher or to show on an impression. The height of the stone to the present ground level is 33 inches, it is 7 inches wide and 6 inches thick.

10. At the north-west corner of the dobha is another stone 21 inches wide. The top is broken off and worn. This was buried in the earth with only a few lines of a faint inscription showing. I had it excavated as far as possible below the level of the water in the dobha by keeping a bandh round it to keep the water out. This disclosed a panel with a pointed top below the inscription with two animals, an ass above a sow, similar to the pillar in the village, already mentioned. As the stone was submerged in water at my second visit, I was unable to obtain an impression of the inscription.

The Burām Memorial Stones

On my visit to Burām in 1916, I found stones, which turned out to be Virakal Memorials, (Nos. 10 and 11), lying on their faces on the ground on a piece of waste land in the neighbourhood of the temple. Mr. Beglar visited Burām in 1872, (A. S. I. R. Vol. VIII, p. 135) and described the temple, but does not refer to any Sati Stones, which shows that they were not standing at that time. They are of grey granite and are much worn, and the features of the faces entirely worn away. They are described below :—

10. (In the panel). A man on a horse, facing left,

holding a spear in the left hand. Standing behind him is an attendant holding an umbrella. There is no inscription apparent. The stone is 6 feet 3 inches in height, and 13 to 15 inches in width. The panel is 1 foot 4 inches in height and 11 inches in width.

11. (In the panel). A man on foot facing left, with the hair apparently in a pigtail, holding a leaf-shaped sword in the upraised left hand and a shield in the right hand. The sheath of the sword is also shown projecting behind. There is no inscription apparent. The height of the stone is 5 feet 4 inches, the width 12¾ inches. The height of the panel is 1 foot 4½ inches and the width 11 inches. I also found, at some distance from the above, on the bank of the river a stone lying on the ground.

12. This stone bears the following inscription:—(First line) Śrī rudra sikhā Juarāja (second line) bali aka (—) a (—) tī h (— —) ā (third line) ṇā adripatī ।। vali (fourth line) a (—) a (—) siṁghāsaṇa (fifth line) chakravatiḥ ।।. "Śrī Rudra Śikhā Juaraja*** ascended throne."

From the form of the characters, Dr. Jayaswal considered the date of the inscription to be the thirteenth or fourteenth century. I would propose to publish the inscription in a subsequent number of the journal.

THE DEVĪCANDRAGUPTA AND ITS AUTHOR

By Sten Konow

The Devīcandragupta of Viśākhadatta, the author of the Mudrārākṣasa, is only known from quotations.[1] As shown by the late Professor Lévi, it must have been based on certain events in the life of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II, before he ascended on the throne, because he is characterised as *kumāra*, while his brother Rāmagupta, who is not known from other sources, bears the title *rājan*.

We learn that Rāmagupta, in order to reassure his subjects, or, according to Jayaswal, his ministers, assented to handing over his consort Dhruvadevī to a Saka (*prakṛtīnām āśvāsanāya Śakasya Dhruvadevīsampradāne abhyupagate rājñā Rāmaguptena*), and that Candragupta, disguised as Dhruvadevī, set out in order to kill the foe (*arivadhanārthaṃ yiyāsuḥ pratipannadhruvadevīnepathyaḥ*).

As pointed out by Lévi, such a tradition was certainly known to Bāṇa, who writes in the sixth ucchvāsa of the Harṣacarita: *aripure ca parakalatrakāmukaṃ kāminīveśaguptaś ca Candraguptaḥ Śakapatim aśātayat* 'and in the enemy's city, and concealed in the beloved woman's dress, Candragupta butchered the

[1] Cf. Lévi, JA cciii, 1923, pp. 200ff; Ramaswami Sarasvati, Ind. Ant. lii, 1923, pp. 181 ff; A. S. Altekar, J.B.O.R.S. xiv., pp. 223 ff; xv, pp. 134 ff.; K. P. Jayaswal, J.B. O.R.S. xviii, pp. 17 ff; V. V. Mirashi, Ind. Ant. lxii, 1933, pp. 201 ff.

Śaka-lord, who wanted another's wife.' The commentator, Śaṅkarakavi, says that the Śaka-lord was asking for Dhruvadevī, the wife of Candragupta's brother, and that Candragupta, disguised as Dhruvadevī and accompanied by followers dressed up as women, killed him (*Candragupta bhrātṛjāyām Dhruvadevīṃ prārthayamānaś Candraguptena Dhruvadevīveṣadhāriṇā strīveṣajanaparivṛtena rahasi vyāpāditaḥ*).

According to Mr. Rangaswami Sarasvati, the manuscript of Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, contains the notice *strīveṣanihnutaḥ Candraguptaḥ śatroḥ skandhāvāram aḷipuram Śakapativadhāyāgamat* 'concealed in female attire Candragupta went to the enemy's camp, to *Aḷipura*, in order to kill the Śaka-lord.' Now a manuscript of the Harsacarita reads *naḷinapura* instead of *aripure*, and Mr. Rangaswami is of opinion that this points to *aḷipure* as the right reading, while Professor Mirashi thinks that the original may have had *nalinapura*, which might be a synonym of Padmapura, according to Watters a name of Hüan-tsang's Teng-kuang 'apparently a little to the west of the modern Jalalabad.' I shall not try to follow this line of argument. The foundation does not seem to me to be sufficient.

It has the appearance as if we were face to face with a comparatively old tradition to the effect that there was a Gupta ruler Rāmagupta, a son of Samudragupta, who held sway at a time when Candragupta II was still a *kumāra*, and that a Śaka chief demanded the delivery of his consort Dhruvadevī. Rāmagupta yielded, in order to reassure his people, but Candra-

gupta disguised himself as Druvadevī and killed the Śaka. If Viśākhadatta was, as some scholars assume, a court poet of Candragupta, this tradition would be traceable to the very period when these happenings had taken place. It is no serious objection that Dhruvadevī is known to have been the queen of Candragupta. Professor Altekar has drawn attention to a passage in the Sanjan copperplate inscription of Amoghavarṣa I, where we read about a Gupta ruler who killed his brother and appropriated his kingdom as well as his queen.

It is quite true that we do not know of any Gupta ruler between Samudragupta and Candragupta, and we know that the latter was chosen as successor by his father. Lévi was therefore inclined to doubt that Viśākhadatta was a contemporary of Candragupta and to place him sometime between the end of the Gupta dynasty and Harṣa.

The Indian scholars mentioned above have, however, adduced what I think are good reasons for assuming that there was a Gupta ruler Rāmagupta, who proved to be unworthy of his high position and was subsequently replaced by Candragupta, who also married his widow Dhruvadevī.

That there was a Gupta emperor of that name is not, I think likely, since Samudragupta himself seems to have made Candragupta his successor. But we know that he had more than one son, for his consort is described in the Eran inscription as *bahuputrapautra-saṅkrāmiṇī*, and there is nothing to show that Candragupta was the eldest. Moreover, the title *rājan* applied to Rāmagupta in the Devīcandragupta

need not mean more than that he was in charge of part of the empire under the suzerainty of his father or acted as regent under him. There are further some indications which add strength to the narrative of the Devīcandragupta and also to the assumption that Viśākhadatta was a contemporary of Candragupta.

We know that matrimonial alliances between the Guptas and the Śakas were at least contemplated during the rule of Samudragupta.

In his highly interesting paper, 'History of India c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.', the lamented K. P. Jayaswal has[1] given a new analysis of the much discussed passage ll. 23f. of Hariṣena's Allahabad praśasti: *Daivaputra-ṣāhi-ṣāhānu-ṣāhi-śakamuruṇḍaiḥ Saiṁhalakādibhiś ca sarvvadvīpavāsibhir ātmanivedana-kanyopāyana-dāna-garutmadankasvavisayabhukti śāsanayācanādyupāyasevākṛtavīryyaprasaradharaṇibandhasya.* We there read about the various means of homage by which the earth (*dharanibandha*[2]) was made the range of the valour of Samudragupta's arms, by several rulers. Jayaswal took the first group to be *Daivaputraṣāhiṣā hānuṣāhi*, where 'the words *daivaputra* and *ṣāhi* qualify *ṣāhānuṣāhi*.' The second group were the *Śakamuruṇdas*, i.e.[3] 'the smaller Śaka rulers like the Shalada Shāka, the Gaḍahara and the Western Satraps.' The Ceylonese and others, finally, form a third group.

With regard to the different kinds of homage, the *ātmanivedana* 'offering of themselves,' and the *kanyopāyanadāna* 'presenting (*upāyana*) unmarried girls

[1] J. B. O. R. S. xix, pp. 145f.
[2] cf. Rājaśekhara's Bālarāmāyana, Tanjore 1899, iv 83.
[3] J. B. O. R. S., xix, p. 210.

and giving of daughters in marriage (*kanyādāna*)' are ascribed to the first group. 'The third was the request (*yācana*) which consisted of two matters : asking for charters for the currency of the Garuḍa coinage within the jurisdiction of their own territories and an application to enjoy the governments of their own countries.' 'We know from the Pālada or Shālada and the 'Shāka' coins of the Kushān subordinate kings of the Western Punjab, that they accepted the Gupta coinage'. This would accordingly apply to the Śakamuruṇḍas, while the second matter should be referred to the Ceylonese etc.'

Ingenious as this analysis is, I am not quite able to see the parallelism between the groups of rulers and the various kinds of homage. Further I have the feeling that *kanyopāyana* is contrasted with *kanyādāna*. And we do not know anything to the effect that Samudragupta's suzerainty was ever acknowledged in Ceylon, Further India etc. And I am inclined to accept Mr. Allan's[1] explanation of *garutmadaṅka* as 'bearing the Garuḍa seal' and qualifying the word *śāsana* 'charter.'

So far as I can see, the rulers concerned are divided into two groups, both given in compounds in the instrumental plural. The second group, the *Saiṃhalakādi*, does not concern us in the present connexion, though I am tempted to accept Vincent Smith's explanation that the passage has something to do with the embassy sent by Meghavarṇa of Ceylon during Samudragupta's rule. What these people are

[1] Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, p. xxv.

stated to have done was, in my opinion, to ask for grants confirming them in the possession of their territories, a statement which is apparently somewhat exaggerated.

The first group comprises the *Daivaputra Ṣāhis*, i.e., in my opinion, the chiefs of the Kuṣāṇa realm, their overlord the *ṣāhānu ṣāhi*, and the *Śakamuruṇḍas*. Now *muruṇḍa* is almost certainly a Śaka word, which was translated with *svāmin*, and since this very title is used by the Western Kṣatrapas, I take them to be intended under *Śakamuruṇḍa*.

But then we should also expect three different forms of *sevā* 'homage.' The *ātma-nivedana* 'presentation of one's self,' i.e. 'attendance in person' could hardly be expected from the Kuṣāṇa king of kings (*sāhānu ṣāhi*), but only from the minor chiefs, the *daivaputra sāhi*. What the overlord could do, and apparently did, was to offer a princess (*kanyopāyana*), just as Seleukos is believed to have given a daughter to Candragupta Maurya. For the Śakamaruṇḍas then we should have the *kanyādāna*, which must, I think, be different from the *kanyopāyana*. I cannot see any other way of bringing out this difference than by taking the whole, from *ātmanivedana* to *dāna* as a dvandva, forming a tatpurusa with the ensuing *yācana* : requests of (1) (permission) to present themselves in person ; (2) (to be allowed) to offer a bride; (3) for the bestowal of a bride, and (4) for sealed grants for the enjoyment of territories belonging to them (including religious establishments in India).

What the Śakamuruṇḍa asked for was, if this analysis is right, the hand of a Gupta princess, and we

would have a distinct indication of a state of things similar to that which is pre-supposed in the Devīcandragupta.

We cannot, of course, tell whether the Western Kṣatrapas asked for a Gupta princess more than once, or whether they were able to put pressure on the Guptas in this connexion. But their downfall cannot have been very far removed in time from the events mentioned in Harisena's praśasti. According to Rapson,[1] the latest date of Svāmi Rudrasiṃha III, the last Mahāksatrapa, is A.D. 388 or a little later, and an Udayagiri inscription of Candragupta II is dated in A.D. 401. There is no a priori objection to the indication contained in the Devīcandragupta and confirmed by Bāṇa that the annihilation of the dynasty had some connexion with the attempt to secure Gupta princesses.

The word *devī* occurring in the name of the play is of some interest in connexion with the question about Viśākhadatta's date.

It is evident that the drama contained much more than the narrative of the happenings connected with Dhruvadevī, as has been pointed out by most scholars who have discussed the question. Dhruvadevī evidently played a secondary rôle, her history was only an episode. As is well known, similar titles, containing a reference to a more or less important detail, are also found elsewhere. We have the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* and the *Svapnavāsavadattā* ascribed to Bhāsa, the *Vikramorvaśīya* and the

[1] Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, etc., pp. cxlix f.

Abhijñānaśakuntalā of Kālidāsa, and the *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta. I do not know any other certain examples, and I cannot help thinking that this way of designating a play was fashionable during a comparatively short period, perhaps initiated by some famous poet, who was imitated by subsequent playwrights. It would then be tempting to think of Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadattā as the most important model. And since later authors do not seem to have continued this practice, it is perhaps allowed to draw the inference that Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Viśākhadatta were not far removed from each other in time and surroundings. In that case it seems to be rather doubtful whether Lévi was right in dating Viśakhadatta between the end of the Guptas and Harṣa. It seems more likely that he was one of the court poets of Candragupta II, as maintained by my deceased friend Jayaswal, to whose memory these lines are devoted.

THE PILGRIM'S WAY

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

The five verses translated and commented on below occur in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 15, and are found also in the *Sāṅkhāyana Srâuta Sūtra*. Rohita, our "Rufus," has just returned to his village on hearing that his father Aikṣvāku has been stricken with dropsy by Varuna, because of the long delay in the fulfilment of the father's promise to sacrifice him (Rufus) to himself (Varuna, whom it is not difficult to equate with Mṛtyu, Death). The verses are addressed to Rufus in his capacity as a stay-at-home and householder; he is exhorted to travel in the "forest," in search of a better fortune; in other words, to abandon the household life and become a homeless wanderer. The "greater fortune" (*nânā* has here almost exactly its etymological force of "no naught," and hence "no small," but rather "great") immediately intended for Rufus is to avoid death as a sacrifice to Varuṇa, to whom he had been dedicated at birth. Beneath the apparently episodal features of the story of Rufus and Śunaḥśepa, the substitute found in the sixth year of his wandering, there lies the universal motif of a going forth (*āgārād abhiniṣkrāntaḥ*...*parivrajet*, Manu, VI. 41) in search of a way of escape from the death to which we are all appointed at birth, and which is by nature always a sacrifice to Varuṇa, whom it is not difficult to identify here and elsewhere with

Mṛtyu, Death, the master of all that is under the Sun. The infection of death, as the story itself makes plain in connection with the release of the substitute, Sunaḥśepa, can only be escaped by a resort to Agni (so often described in the Vedas as the "Pathfinder" *par excellence*) and by the performance of the offices which he enjoins, of which the most important in the present case is a celebration of Indra, the "traveller's comrade" of our text.

The constant refrain, "Just keep on going, just keep on going" (*cara-ēva*), the connection of the summons with Indra, and the "solar" phraseology employed throughout, give us a key to the technicalities of the wording. We must bear in mind that it is precisely inasmuch as they are nomads and travellers, and not merely stay-at-home ploughmen (*kṛṣṭayaḥ*), that they are regularly spoken of in the Vedic texts as *carsanayaḥ*. *Carṣaṇi*, as pointed out by Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, 122, is an agent noun from *car*, to "go" or "move," cf. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, "ursprunglich 'wandernd' (von car)." Monier-Williams' derivation from *kṛs* is not impossible, but semantically implausible, as can be very clearly seen in connection with RV. I. 46. 4 *pitā kuṭasya carṣaṇih*, "the moving, or active, or vigilant housefather," with reference either to Agni as housefather below or more likely in this context with reference to the Sun as housefather above. Grassmann renders our word in this context by "empsige" (active), and Griffiths by "vigilant." *Nirukta* V. 24, followed by Sāyana, paraphrases *kuṭasya carṣaṇiḥ* by *kṛtasya karmaṇaś cāyitâdityaḥ*, rendered by Sarup "who

observes the deed, the action, *i.e.* the sun."[1]

The Sun is, indeed, the "overseer of *karma*," or in other words, Providence (*prajñāna*); but if vision and motion coincide *in divinis*, it nevertheless remains that the word *carṣaṇi* denotes a motion; that we understand that the motion also implies a vision, does not justify us in a free translation of the word that means motion by another word that means vision.

It is, of course, by his one foot, or feet, that the Sun, or Death, is present in the heart, and when these are withdrawn, the creature is "cut off," or dies (SB. X. 5 2. 13). It is, in other words, by a thread (*sūtrâtman*), AV. X. 8. 38; SB. VIII. 7. 3. 10, etc.) that the Sun, who is the spiritual-essence (*ātman*)

[1] A derivation of *cāyitā* from *cāy* to "see" or "observe" is evidently assumed here, as it is also implied in Griffiths' "vigilant." We do not by any means propose to exclude this connotation, but do not feel that a connotation should be substituted for a denotation when translating. We note that *kṛta* and *karma* can hardly be synonymous; a tautology (*jāmitva*) is hardly to be expected in Yāska. The Sun is, no doubt, an observer of all that is done within the house of the universe. But this is inasmuch as he is also the mover within it; which motion is not a locomotion, but by means of his rays or lines of vision, which are also called his feet It is not the vision, but the motion that is stated in *carsaniḥ*. These considerations lead us to suppose that we have here to do with an overlooked *sandhi*, and to propose the analysis *ca-āyitā*, taking *āyitā* to be the nominative of an agent noun derived from *ē*, to go, we render accordingly "the mover both of perfected act (*kṛta*) and of action (*karma*)," the Sun being thus the universal cause at once of liberation and embodiment, as in MU. VI. 30 *sarga-svargâpavarga-hētur-bhagavādityaḥ*. Yāska, if indeed he is thus making use of the causative *āyitā*, must have in mind that the mover *in* is also the mover *of*; that the *kartā* is also the *kārayitā*. In any case, the Sun is in all things the ultimate "doer": "Of what 'I' did, *Thou* art the doer" (*tad akaravam...tasya kartā'si*, JUB. I. 5. 2). And how is He the doer? "By me as being the Eye, all things are done" (*mayā cakṣuṣā karmāṇi kriyantē*, JUB. IV. 12. 2).

of all things (RV. I. 115, 1; JUB. III, 2-3, etc.) is connected with (*samyukta*, BG. XIII. 26, cf. Śvēt. Up. V. 10) born beings, as the Knower of the Field with the Field. It is in this way that the Spirit, birthless and unchanging (BG. II. 26 etc.) is thought of as Body-dweller (*dēhin*, *śarīrin*) and as ever-born and ever-dying (*nityaṁ-jātaṁ nityam...mṛtam*, BG. II. 26), thus that the Spirit "proceedeth from within, as multifariously born" (*antaś carati bahudhā jāyamānaḥ*, Muṇḍ. Up. II. 2. 6).[1] It is this incessant and unwearying peregrination of the Spirit (the Divine Procession) that Rufus is reminded in the fourth verse of our text; when the end of the road (*adhvanah pāram*, Kaṭha Up. III. 9) has been reached, and Fortune found, when Rufus' eye and the Sun's eye, who is himself the "Rufus" of AV. XIII. 1, are one and the same Eye (*sūryam cakṣur gacchatu*, RV. X. 16·3 : *dass selbe ouge, dâ inne mich got siht ; meine auge und gottes auge dass ist ein auge und ein gesicht*,[2] Eckhart, Pfeiffer XCVI) when the Wayfarer (*carṣaṇi*) has become an awakened Comprehensor (*vidvān* ; *yo aśakad boddhum*, Kaṭha Up. VI. 4), "then is he fit for embodiment within the emanated worlds" (*tataḥ sargēṣu lōkēṣu śarīratvāya kalpatē*, Kaṭha Up. VI. 4),[3] a Traveller indeed (*carṣaṇi*

[1] Similarly AV. X 8. 13 *prajāpatiś carati garbhē antar, adṛśyamānō bahudhā vi jāyatē* : RV. III. 1. 20 and I. 72. 7 *janmañ janman nihito jātavēdah. .antarvidvān*, etc.

[2] "The same eye whereby in me God sees; my eye and God's eye that is one eye and one vision;" continuing, "one knowledge and one love." With "eye whereby in me God sees," cf. AA. II. 4. 1-3 *ātmā vā idam eka...sa jato bhūtāny abhyaikṣat* and KU. IV. 6 *vaḥ ..pūrvam ajāyata..yō bhūtēbhir vyapaśyata*.

[3] The desperate efforts that have been made by scholars, not excepting Śankara himself (see Rawson, *Katha Upanishad*,

as in RV. I. 46·4), fused but not confused (*bhēdâbhēda*) with the being of the Peregrine Falcon (*śyēna*) and Eagle (*suparṇa*) whose Eye extends to the vision of

pp. 179-180), to explain away this passage make rather pitiful reading. Nothing can do away with the doctrine of one essence and two natures, mortal and immortal (BU. II. 3. 1 etc.). The mortal Brahman is the spirant Ātman, the Sun, and Agni, "multifariously born." Whoever becomes the Brahman must evidently participate in both natures, in the divine activity ("eternal work") and in the divine idleness ("eternal rest"). The work is indeed contained in the idleness, as finite in infinite; but this does not mean that it can be taken away from it, even the finite potentialities are essential to the infinity of possibility.

The wishful thinking which leads the exegete to evade the notion of an incessant cosmic incarnation is founded on a mistake, in which the *universal* birth of the Spirit is confused with the *particular* birth of the individual So-and-so. It is particular birth, *per necessitatem coactionis*, from which the Freed (*mukta*) are released; the universal birth, *per necessitatem infallibilitatis*, is an activity inseparable from the divine beatitude in which the Freed participate. It is, moreover, precisely the universal extension of being to all things which is implied by such designations of the perfected as "Mover-at-will" (*kāmacārin*); and as one of the hymns in the *Siddhântamuktāvalī* expresses it, "How can that Beatific Spirit (*ānandatmā*) which, when it enters into the Darkness (of the infrasolar worlds) on its wings of enjoyment and satisfaction, enlivens every world, be made out to be other than man's Last End?" Let us make no mistake: the Spirit, very Self, is that which "wanders about from body to body" (*prati śarīreṣu carati*, MU. II. 7). The same is expressed by Nicolas of Cusa when he says that filiation and defication imply a "remotion of all otherness (*ablatio omnis alteritatis*=Skr. *advâita*) and all diversity, and a resolution of all things into one which is also a transfusion of the one into all" (*De Fil Dei*, cited by Vansteenberghe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, XIV, Heft 2-4, p. 13, Note 2). If to be unified (*ekam bhū*, passim), if to be oned with Death is to have escaped contingent death (BU. I. 2. 7), this is a unification with one who is "One as he is in himself *and* many as he is in his children" (SB. X. 5. 2. 16); with one who is "undivided in divided things" (BG. XIII. 16 and XVIII. 20) at the same time that he "divides himself, filling these worlds" (MU. VI. 26). Impossible, then, to think of an identification with the Divine Essence that is not also a possession of both its natures, fontal and inflowing, mortal and immortal, formal and informal, born and unborn. An *ablatio*

all things simultaneously.[1]

It is a veritable "pilgrim's progress" that Indra urges upon the stay-at-home "Rufus." And bearing in mind that earthly pilgrimages are mimetic visitations of analogous "centres" ("All roads lead to Rome," or similarly, to Jerusalem, or to Benares or whatever site it may be that represents for us the "navel of the earth"), it can well be imagined that our verses became a song of the road, and were sung as such by early Indian pilgrims, just as in Europe, on their way to Compostella, men sang their *Congaudeant Catholici*. In intention, at least, our verses have something in common with the modern "Onward Christian Soldiers." There cannot be any doubt that Indian pilgrims had their marching songs; we have heard, indeed, bands of pilgrims singing on their

omnis alteritatis must imply a participation in the whole life of the Spirit, of "That One" who is "equally spirated, despirated" (RV X. 129. 2), eternally "unborn" and "universally born."

[1] It is precisely as an "eye" and by means of his "rays," which are also his "feet," that the Sun is constantly thought of as "travelling" and "observant" by what is one act of being; in this way "he proceedeth super-seeing" (*abhicakṣāna êti*, RV. II. 40. 5). Somewhat in the same way the English word "range" can be used either with respect to vision or with respect to an actual locomotion, and we speak too of the "eye travelling."

An interesting parallel can be adduced. It is well known that "The Sun is just sound; so, they say, 'He goes resounding' " (*svara êti*, JUB. III. 33). In the same way Mitra "speaks" (*bruvānah*, RV. III. 59, I, etc.). At the same time, the Sun is always an "eye." It can be well understood, accordingly, how it is that the root *cakṣ* can convey either of the two meanings, to see or to say; just as English "observe" can be used in either of these two senses. For a further discussion see my "Beauté, Lumière et Son" in *Études Traditionelles*, 42, 1937, where we might have spoken of an identity of Beauty, Light, Sound *and* Motion *in divinis*.

way to the summit to Adam's Peak on Ceylon, and Badrināth in the Himâlayas, at the present day. We seem to hear our verses chanted by the leader of a band, and the loud response of the chorus, *Carâiva, carâiva.*, "Keep on going, keep on going." However this may have been, it is unquestionable that our verses are a stirring call to Everyman to take up his bed and walk, and to keep on going until the "end of the road" (*adhvanaḥ pāram*, Kaṭha Up. III. 9) is reached. Our somewhat humorous thought, "It's a great life if you don't weaken," is here applied to the pursuit of man's last end; by which end we mean all that is implied by an escape from the clutches of Death, the infection of whose power extends over all things under the Sun, but not beyond the golden gates, the solar portals of the world (*sâuram dvāram, lōkadvāram*, Maitri Up. VI. 30 and Chāndōgya Up. VIII. 6.5, etc.).

It is plainly stated in the prose text by which the verses of AB. VII. 15 are divided from one another, that Rufus in fact accepted Indra's advice, and that he wandered in the "forest" for a period of six years; he became in fact what is elsewhere called a *parivrā-jaka*, or "perambulating" poor man, and, as suggested by the word *śramena*, a *śramana* or "toiler"; the whole context very clearly implies the life, not of a *vāna-prastha*, or forest dwelling anchorite, occupying a hut, but that of a wandering *sannyāsin*, or "poor man," of whom it can generally be assumed that he has received the last initiations and that his funeral rites have been performed, so that he has become what Rūmī (*Mathnawi*, VI. 723f) calls a "dead man walk-

ing," one who has "died before death," or as KU. VI. 4 expresses it, "has been able to wake up before the dissolution of the body" (*aśakad boddhum prâk śarīrasya visraṅsaḥ*),[1] we need hardly add that in India it has been taken for granted that thus to have died to all *proprium*, all sense of "I and mine," is virtually synonymous with a liberation from mortality and from all other "ills." We may add that the state of the homeless wanderers is analogous to that of the "Red Bird that hath no nest" (RV. X. 55.6), and to that of the Son of Man having not "where to lay his head," for as the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XI. 15.1, explains, " 'Nest' is cattle, nest is children, nest is 'home' "; the assimilation is the more significant inasmuch as the name "Rufus" is one of the names of the Sun, and that our Rufus is of solar lineage; that the solar Indra should have been his *guru* is perfectly in order. Taking all these things into consideration

[1] The words *aśakad bōddhum* in this passage are of peculiar interest in connection with Gautama's acquired epithet, Buddha, the "Wake." Of Solar lineage and Sakya or Sakiya family (Sn. 423, etc.), he is often also referred to by Indra's name of Sakka (Śakra), Sn. passim. In other words, born in the royal line of "those who could" the Buddha was one who "did" awaken before the dissolution of the body.

It may be further observed that just as our "Rufus" is the son of the solar Aiksvāku, so the Buddha is described as *Okkākarājassa* Sakyaputto, "the Sakyan child of king Okkāka" (Sn. 991), i.e. of Iksavāku, as he is called in the *Mahāvastu*, who must be either the same as or the immediate ancestor of our Aikṣvāku. The name implies "Onlooker," cf. AA. II. 4. 3 *abhyâiksat* cited in our Note 2, needless to say that the Vedic Sun is the "eye" of Varuna, and that the Buddha is repeatedly called the "eye in the world" (*cakkhum loke*).

The Iksvāku implied by our Aiksvāku is doubtless the *ikṣvāku...rēvān marāyī* of RV. X. 60. 4-5, where he flourishes in Indra's following, course, or operation (*vratē*): and the ancestor of Bṛhadratha in MU.

in connection with the designation of Indra as the traveller's "Comrade," it is impossible not to be reminded of the institution of Compagnonage which flourished in Europe during the Middle Ages, and even very much later, and for which an immemorial antiquity can be claimed. We cannot pursue these indications farther here, but refer the reader to the special number of *Le Voile d'Isis* dealing with "Le Compagnonage" which appeared in April 1934. We shall only cite in connection with the pilgrim's staff the remark that "On a donc lâ un équivalent exact du caducèe hermètique at du brahma-danda ou bâton brahmanique" (*ib.* p. 151), adding that the "Three-strider's (Viṣṇu's) staff" has been recognized as an aspect of the Axis of the Universe[1] (Skr. *skambha*, *akṣa*, GK. *stauros*). There is, then, a metaphysics of travelling, just as we shall presently observe that there is a metaphysics of games. It need hardly be pointed out, after this, that with the decline of pilgrimage, the *art* of travelling has also been lost.

We print below a text and translation accompanied by comments. The text is that of the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, vol. IV, p. 72, 1906, except that in the case of the two words marked by an asterisk we have adopted the readings of the *Sāṅkhâyana Śrâuta Sūtra*, and that in the case of the first word of the text we understand, rather than *nânā śrāntāya*, *nânâśrāntāyà*, i.e. *nânā* and *aśrāntāya* connected by *sandhi*. We have, then :

[1] *Daśakumāracarita*, introductory invocation.

Nānâśrāntāya śrīr-astîti rōhita śuśruma :
Pāpō niṣadvarō jana, indra ic-caratah sākhā :
Caraiva, caraiva.

Puṣpiṇyō caratō jaṅghau, bhūṣṇur-ātmā phalagrahiḥ:
Sērē'sya sarve pāpmānaḥ, śrameṇa prapathē hatāś :
Caraiva, caraiva.

Āstē bhaga āsīnasyōrddhvas-tiṣṭhati tiṣṭhataḥ :
Śētē nipadyamānasya, carati caratō bhagaś:
Caraiva, caravia.

Kaliḥ śayānō bhavati, sañjihānas-tu dvāparaḥ :
Uttiṣṭhas-tretā bhavati, kṛtaṁ sampadyate caranś :
Caraiva, caraiva.

Caran-vai madhu vindati, carant-svādum
udumbaram :
Sūryasya paśya śrēmānaṁ, yō na tandrayatē caraṅś :
Caraiva, caraiva.

"Manifold fortune is his who wearieth not,"
Thus have we heard,[1] O Rufus :
T'is an evil race that sitteth down;[2]
Indra companions the traveller[3]
Keep on going, keep on going !

[1] *Suśruma*, in the mouth of a Brahman, and like the Biblical "as it is written," implies a quotation from Scripture (*śruti*) rather than the citation of a proverb.

[2] We might have rendered *nisadvaraḥ* by "stick-in-the-mud." There is, in fact, as will later be seen, a definite suggestion of an ophidian sloth, imputed to the stay-at-home whose evils (*pāpmānaḥ*) still adhere to him.

[3] Literally, "is the Comrade of the traveller," *caratah sākhā* as in Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, VI. 2643, "The Friend is the guide on the way." Indra's character as leader, forerunner and guide is well established in RV. where, for example, he is *pūrvayāvan* in III.

Forth-springing are the traveller's shanks,[1]
His person thriveth[2] and beareth fruit :

34. 2. There, too, Indra is typically *sakhi* (comrade) amongst *sakhāyaḥ*, (comrades), passim ; as Agni and the Sun are typically *mitra* (friend). In RV. X. 32. 6-8 is the guide and teacher who shows the way to Agni ; he is the "Knower-of-the-field (*kṣētra-vit*, cf. *kṣētra-jñaḥ* in BG. XIII), and "One-who-knoweth-not-the-field verily asks of the Knower-of-the-Field; instructed by the Knower-of-the-field he goeth forth" (*praiti*). The use of *praiti* is poignant in this context, since it is precisely when the royal Spirit goes forth (*prêtyēna*, BU. IV. 3. 38) that the contingent being with which it had been connected (*samyukta*) is unmade. The veritable *prêta* of the Vedic tradition is no shade or goblin of the deceased, but the Holy Ghost that is given up when 'we' give up the ghost." The true traveller is already "in the Spirit" (*ātmani*) rather than "in himself", dead and awakened before the dissolution of body-and-soul, when the Spirit "goes forth," it is himself that goes forth, leaving behind him for ever the "down-sitter" (*niṣadvarah*) or pseudo-self, of which the constituent factors are due to suffer a retribution in the sphere to which they belong. When the dissolution of the body ensues in due course, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was ; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it" (Ecclesiastes, XII 7). As for the dust, whoever has followed the Forerunner and Comrade is no longer in or of it. The solar Indra and the traveller are the "conjoint pair of eagle comrades" (*sakhāyā*) of RV. I. 164. 20.

It may be remarked that Indra plays his part of Comrade both of the Buddha and of Mahāvīra, throughout their "lives" or "journeying" (*caritra*).

[1] Keith's "Flower-like the heels of the wanderer" may be rather more picturesque ; we prefer to retain the more literal "shanks." There is no direct comparison of the shanks with a flower as there is of the feet when we speak of "lotus-feet" (*padma-caraṇa*). What is common to the shanks and a flower in the present comparison (*sādṛśya*) is the vigor that is connotated by the root *puṣ* and according to which we say "springeth up like a flower" or speak of a "springing up again" or of "springy turf." The traveller's shanks are springy, and "spring forth" like a flower in this sense.

[2] *Bhūṣṇur-ātmā* : in Keith's version, "his body groweth." The great Vedic scholar's rendering of *ātman* by "body" here can be understood if we take account of his position as explained in his edition and translation of the *Aitarēya Āraṇyaka*, introduction p. 42, where he speaks of the "naive manner in which knowledge is made the characteristic of the Ātman" in the Advaita system,

All of his ills supine,[1]
Slain by the toil of his progress—
Keep on going, keep on going!

and adds that "Such knowledge as is not empirical is meaningless to us and cannot be described as knowledge." We agree that that kind of knowledge, or rather, gnosis, in which there is no distinction of knower from known (BU. IV. 3. 30). "There is no cessation of the knower's knowing, it is not, however, any second thing, other than and separated from himself, that he might know;" Plotinus, *Enneads*, V. 8. 10-11. "No vision unless in the sense of identification. .It is the other, the Intellectual Principle that sees ..itself," similarly the Christian teaching that God's knowledge is a speculative knowledge, not derived from any source external to himself) is not what the modern scholar means by "knowledge." But such a limited sort of knowledge as the modern scholar lays claim to (even if we presume the unreality of all that is meant by a gnosis, "meaningless to us") is not what is intended by the Vedic texts when they speak of a knowing without duality. Unless we assume, at least "for the sake of argument" the validity of a gnosis, we are not equipped to understand, and therefore not equipped to translate the Vedic texts, ruthlessly logical as they are, once their fundamental assumptions have been accepted. Unless we accept these assumptions, our translation will amount to no more than a simple parsing; in order to translate without parody, we must proceed at least *as if* the basic assumptions held good.

As to the rendering of Ātman by body; we do not deny that in reflexive use, "those who can think of nothing more noble than bodies" are somewhat handicapped. If one believes that one's body is oneself, Ātman must often mean "body;" this is in fact the profane interpretation which is described in CU. VIII. 8. 5 as a "devilish doctrine" (*asura upaniṣad*). We also recall Śankarâcārya's scathing remarks in connection with BG. XIII. 2, "How is it, then, that there are Doctors who, like worldly men, maintain that 'I' am so-and-so' and that 'This is mine'? Listen: it is because they think the body is their-self."

In the present context it might have been observed that the pilgrim is in search of *life*, and that "no one becomes immortal with the body" (SB. X. 4. 3. 9). Nor could it be primarily a "body" that would be thought of as thriving when "sins disappear," as Keith himself renders the following *śere...pāpmānaḥ*; on this basis one would have expected at least to find "his soul groweth," although from the point of view of the Vedic tradi-

His weal who sitteth up, up-sitteth too,[1]
But his who standeth, standeth up :

tion even this would have been unsatisfactory, since it is no more a soul than a body that is thought of as immortal there.

The rare word *bhūṣṇu* (=*bhaviṣṇu*) is significant. In Manu, IV. 135, Buhler renders by "one who desires prosperity." The verbal form is optative, or perhaps it would be better to say that it expresses a tendency. Derived from *bhu*, to "become," a comparison may be made with *bhuyas* "becoming in a greater degree," "becoming more," and with *bhūyiṣṭha*, "become in the greatest degree," "super," or in other words, "altogether in being." *Bhūṣṇur-ātmā* then implies that the true traveller's spirit is flourishing, progressing from potentiality to act, tending towards a perfected being. The Spirit in question is that Spirit which is seen but imperfectly in the animal (-man), the *paśu*, and is more and more clearly manifested in a Man, or Person, *puruṣa*—"He who knows more and more clearly his spiritual-essence (*yo ātmānam āvistārām veda*) enjoys an evident more (*āvir bhūyas*)...The spiritual-essence is more and more clearly manifested in the Man" (*puruṣe tv evāvistārām ātmā*). It is this sort of "moring" that the traveller enjoys,—he is becoming what he is (*wird was er ist*), while the stay-at-home remains empirically "himself" (the only "self" he knows).

It is, of course, the whole man, body, soul, and spirit, that thrives, cf. AB. III. 3 *sarvair aṅgaih sarvenātmanā samṛddhyate ya evam veda ;* and it is for this reason that, not intending to emphasize any one part of the pilgrim's constitution more than another, we have rendered *ātman* by "person" rather than by "spirit". "Person" (*purusa*) is a real equivalent, whether we consider a reference to "this man" (*ātman* in reflexive sense) or as referring to the Person, Universal Man and very Self the only knowing and discriminating subject in all things whatsoever (BU. III. 3. 11) and to which one should most resort (Ait. Up. V=AA. II. 5).

[1] "*Śete*," "lie down"; just as Vṛtra, smitten by Indra's bolt, "lies down" (*aśayat*) in RV. I. 32. 7, and passim. For what should be understood by "evil" (*pāpman*) see BU. I. 3 ; evils are whatever is "misshapenly" (*apratirūpam*) spoken, inhaled, seen, heard, or conceived.

[1] The state of being implied by *āste* "sitteth up" is to be distinguished from that implied by the "sitting down" (root *niṣad*) of the first verse. "Sitting up" we take to be the same as being "fain to cast off" in the fourth verse, while "sitting down" or "lolling" can hardly be differentiated from the "recumbence" of the fourth verse.

His weal who falleth down, lies down,
But his who goeth is itself agoing[1]—
Keep on going, keep on going !

Kali his lot who lieth down,
Dvāpara his who would fain cast off,
Tretā his who standeth up :
Kṛta he reacheth who moveth—
Keep on going, keep on going !

T'is the traveller that findeth the honey,
The traveller the tasty fig[2] :
Consider the fortune of the Sun,
Who never tireth of travelling !
Keep on going, keep on going !

Two major aspects of our text remain to be discussed with special reference to the third and fourth verses. Each of these verses speaks of four conditions, though not in quite the same order. The four states are those of sitting down or recumbence, sitting up or being fain to cast off, standing up, and proce-

[1] Procedure (*caraṇa*) can also be represented as a climbing; it is thus that one reaches the top of the tree, ascending these worlds step by step (*ākramaṇâir ākramāṇaḥ*, JUB. I. 3. 2); there the Sun, the Truth, awaits the climber, on guard at the doorway of the worlds; and to say that if the climber has wings, he flies off, but otherwise falls (JUB. III. 13. 9, PB. XIV. I. 12, cf. V. 3.5) is the same as to say that if he can rightly answer the question "Who art thou," he is admitted (JUB. III. 14. 5), but if he cannot, is dragged away by the factors of time (JUB. III. 14. 2, cf. Cant. I. 8, *si ignoras te, egredere*).

[2] The "honey" (*madhu*) and the "tasty fig" (*svādum udumbaram*) are evidently reminiscent of RV. I. 164. 22. "Upon the Tree the eagles (incarnate spirits=immanent Spirit) eat of the honey...upon its top, they say, the fig is sweet" (*yasmin vṛkṣē madhv adaḥ suparṇā...tasyed āhuḥ pippalam svādv agrē*).

dure. In the fourth verse observe the sequence *śayānaḥ*, *saṁjībānaḥ*, *uttiṣṭha*, and *sampadyatē*; and compare RV. X. 53·8 where the long-sought Agni has appeared and having been called upon to "guard the pathways by contemplation wrought" and to "beget," i.e., as Griffiths, following Sāyaṇa's *janaya*= *utpādaya*, justly renders, "bring forth" the Heavenly Race, addresses the *mumukṣavaḥ* as follows: "Here flows the River of the Rock : lay hold, stand up (*ut tiṣṭhata*), cross over (*pratarata*), O my comrades (*sakhāyaḥ*), there let us leave behind the ineffectual (*aśēvāḥ*) and cross unto the friendly (*śivān*) coursers (*vājān*).[1] Here there are also four conditions, those of an original recumbence (ophidian sloth) implied by the injunction to stand up, a readiness to abandon those who are to be left behind, a standing up, and a setting out (on the "ways by contemplation wrought")

[1] *Sremāṇa* : the fortune or brilliance (*śrī*) of the first verse, as an abstract quality or attribute of the Sun. English "fortune" conveys the content of "*śrī*" only in part. The best definition of *śrī* as a royal attribute, or majesty, will be found in SB. XI. 4. 3. 1 (see my "Janaka and Yājñavalkya" in IHQ. XIII. 274).

It must not be overlooked that the Way has been trodden by the Sun, solar Indra, himself. Ophidian *ante principium* (PB. XXV. 15. 4, and see my "Angel and Titan" in JAOS. 55), the Sun is dimmed, unfortunate, or inglorious (*aśrīra*) when still infected by "this evil" (*pāpâmuyā*) of "potentiality" (*kṛtyā*, RV. X. 85. 29-30; to be contrasted with *kṛtam* in its literal meaning of "act," in our fourth verse). but "even as Ahi doth, so doth he free himself from the night, from evil" (*pāpmanaḥ*, SB. II. 3. 1. 6), "even as Ahi, so is he (Indra) freed from all evil" (*pāpmanaḥ*, JB. II. 34); and "He who follows the same course shall shine with the glory of the Suns" (PB. XXV. 15. 4). In saying "Keep on going," the Comrade, although in disguise as a Brahman, is saying "Follow in my steps"; the Way is marked throughout by the divine *padāni*, *vestigia pedis*. ("Mark my footsteps, good my page").

towards a farther shore that has already been reached by those who are referred to as "friendly."[1] In the same way in RV. X. 124.3-4, Agni (whom we know to have possessed a titanic, autochthonic and ophidian nature *ante principium*) abandons (*jahāmi*) the fallen Agni, Soma and Varuṇa, bids "farewell" to the Titan Father, "chooses Indra," and "proceeds" (*êmi*) from the non-sacrificial to the sacrificial part. Similarly *sthāsnu cariṣṇu*, in connection with the divine procession, where the Spirit, having long dwelt in the darkness, and in idleness (*na ca svaṁ kurut karma*) would now "stand up and move," Manu, I. 56. We find, in fact, throughout the Vedic tradition a regularly recurring and logical sequence of ideas represented by the use of the roots *śī* ("lie"), *hā* ("abandon") or an equivalent passive desiderative form of *muc* ("release"), *sthā* ("stand up") or equivalent *jan* "be born" or "come into existence,"[2] and car ("proceed") or equivalent *ê*, *gam*, *prapat*, *ruh* or *tar*: *saṁjihānaḥ* in our text being, accordingly, equivalent to *mumukṣuḥ*. On the other hand, the distinction of lying from standing and of standing from going, as also that of renunciation from possession, breaks down when the end of the road has been reached; that end is not an *arrested*

[1] For those who are to be understood as having crossed over, and as released from death, see Br. I. 3. 10-16 : these are Voice, becoming Fire; Smell, becoming the Gale; Sight, becoming Sun; Hearing, becoming the Airs; and Intellect, becoming the Moon. Observe that the crossing or translation is also a transformation.

[2] As remarked by Sāyana in comment on RV. V. 19. 1 *sthitam padârthaṁ jātam* : conversely it is in the womb that the yet unborn "lie", as in RV. V. 78. 9 *śaśayānaḥ kumāro adhi mātari, niraîtu jīvaḥ* "the prince (Agni) that lieth in the Mother, may he come forth alive."

motion, but a consummation in which there exists no longer any necessity for a *loco*motion: "Seated, he travels afar, and recumbent, goeth everywhere" (*āsīnō dūraṁ vrajati, śayānō yāti sarvataḥ*, Kaṭha Up. II. 21).

The pilgrimage is a procedure from potentiality to act, non-being to being, darkness to light, that is in question. Observe the change of construction in the fourth line of the first verse; he who has successively been (in) three inferior states of being, now inasmuch as he proceeds (*caran*) reaches or attains (*sampadyatē*) the Kṛta state. Not only does *sampad* imply "success" or "final achievement" (cf. *sampatti* in this sense), but it should be noted that *sam* (here as in *sam-bodhi*, *sam-bhoga*, *sam-bhū* and the like) adds the value of completion, perfection, or universality to the root to which it is prefixed. *Sam* also adds to a root the meaning "with": *sampad* being thus not merely to "reach" but literally to "march with" or "accompany"; *sampad* implies an entering into and a coincidence with that which is reached, as in Chāndōgya Up. VI. 8.6, *vāg manasi...sampadyatē* and VIII. 3.4 *paraṁ jyotir upasampadya.*

Kṛta is then our traveller's goal. His procedure from potentiality to act can be expressed in familiar terms by saying that he is on his way to become a *kṛtsna-karma-kṛt* ("one who has performed the whole task," BG. IV. 18) and *kṛtakṛtyaḥ* ("one who has done what there was to be done," Aitarēya Āraṇyaka, II. 5, Maitri Up. II. 1 and VI. ,30). We are by no means forgetting that Kali, Dvāpara, Tretā and Kṛta are throws in dicing, respectively one, two, three and

four, from lowest to highest. We had this in mind in employing the words "fortune" and "lot," and in the fourth verse might have rendered "Kali he throws...." But that the terms of a game are employed does not in the least preclude an anagogic (*paramârthika*) connotation: of which we have an admirable example in checkers, where to this day in Indian vernacular, the piece which succeeds in crossing the field and thus reaches the other side or further shore, is crowned king and called like the liberated Comprehensor, *kāmâcārin*, a "Mover-at-will," being able, in fact, to occupy any square on the field. There is, accordingly, no need to treat a meaning as "throws of dice" and a meaning as "aeons" as incompatible alternatives.[1] In Sanskrit, just as in Latin scholasticism, the word has multiple meanings, all of equal validity; as we have just seen, *kāmâcārin* may mean either or both a "crowned piece" and/or a "Comprehensor." It is for the translator, if he can, to discover equivalent terms in which a corresponding series of meanings, and not only one of these meanings, inheres.

Finally, *kṛtam* implies "perfection" and corresponds to *kṛtâtman*, "perfected spirit" as this term is

[1] For the association of ideas involved in our text, cf. AV. IV. 17. 7 "Death by hunger, likewise defeat at dice...we wipe off all that." When Devas and Asuras gamble, it is for stakes of life and death. Cf. Jeremy Taylor, cited in Oxford N.E.D., *s.v.* throw, II. 5, "They...cast a dice of the greatest interest in the world, next to the last throw for eternity."

Very close to the thought of our text is that of CU. IV. 1. 6, "Even as the lower throws of the dice are consummated in the highest throw (*kṛtam samyanti*), so to this man whatever good that beings do, all is consummated in him."

used in *Chāndogya Up*. VIII. 13, "I as *kṛtâtman* am regenerated in the uncreated (*akṛtam*) Brahma-world." More often we find the term *sukṛtâtman* as "perfected spirit;" and just as Saṅkara explains *sukṛta* qualifying the (Brahma-) world in *Kaṭha Up*. III. 1 by the paraphrase *svakṛta*, "self-made," so, but without accepting his ethical connotation (since, as plainly stated in *Chāndogya Up*. VIII. 13 "neither *sukṛtam* nor *duṣkṛtam* can pass over the Bridge of the Spirit," cf. BG. V 15 or as Eckhart puts it, "There neither vice nor virtue ever entered in"), we hold that *kṛtam* =*sukṛtam*, "perfection," and that a *sukṛtâtman*, in the words of *Taittirīya Up*. II. 7, "is called 'per-fected' because it made itself" (*tad ātmānam akuruta, tasmād sukṛtam ucyatē*),[1] cf. "*svayambhū*"=*autogenes*. It is, then, "only by keeping on" (*carâiva, carâiva*) that, as regarded from our present position, perfection can be achieved; but when this Perfection has been realised, it will not be found to have been effected by our toil, of which the only traces left will be the prints of our feet on the Way : our toiling was not essential to the *being* of this Perfection, our own Perfection, but only dispositive to our *realisation* of it. As Eckhart expresses it, "When I enter there, no one will ask me

[1] *Kṛtam* in Īśā Up. 17, *kṛtam smara* must be similarly understood; it is well known what great importance is attached to the dying thought, as having a directive force, and in view of the fact that the dying man is thought of as an aspirant for passage through the midst of the Sun (previous verse 15, and cf. JUB. I. 3-5) it is inconceivable that he should be asked to consider past acts, which cannot follow him there; on the other hand, it can well be imagined that he is asked to consider that (Ātman) which has been "done," fulfilled, perfected and self-effected, to consider in other words that very *kṛtam* which in the fourth verse of our text is the traveller's goal.

whence I came or whither I went." The weary pilgrim is now become what he always was had he only known it, a Blast of the Spirit (*marutaḥ*, MU. II. 1), and as such no longer a toiler (*śramaṇa*) but in and of the Spirit that bloweth as it listeth—*vāyu*, *devānām ātmā*, (*yaś*) *carati yathā vaśam*, RV. X. 168·4. *Carâiva, carâiva.*

A PROTO-INDIAN ICON

By REV. H. HERAS, S. J.

One evening in the month of July 1929, my friend the late Mr. K. E. Kotwal called on me, as he often did to inspect the new acquisitions of the Museum of our Research Institute, to show and comment upon some of his own acquisitions or to discuss problems of ancient Indian or Iranian art and numismatics. This time he had come to discuss a small ancient statue he had acquired for Re. 1/- in a bazar of Bombay.

"What is this statue?", he asked me while handing over to me that interesting specimen.

It was a block of black stone roughly carved into a human shape. A square topped head with pointed chin was the most characteristic feature of the statue. The broad nose appeared flattened and worn out by continuous rubbing. The eyes were big, the mouth small. Two small holes roughly marked the ears. The rest of the body was shapeless. It looked like an African fetish or a work of art of a prehistoric tribe. Yet the lower portion of the statue in spite of its being shapeless had two features which were very characteristic and full of significance. The hands of the person represented in this icon were joined in front of it, thus covering the non-existing waist; while under the hands an inscription enclosed within a *cartouche* ran perpendicularly. Another one in the

A Proto-Indian Icon
Front View

A Proto-Indian Icon
Left Side View

A Proto-Indian Icon
Right Side View

A Proto-Indian Icon
Back View

same position was engraved on the back, and two short ones within a circle could be detected on each side of the figure.

Paying attention to these two characteristics, I replied with some hesitation:

"The statue seems to be Sumerian. Both the position of the hands and the inscriptions remind one of the statues of kings and *patesis* of Sumer discovered after the Great War."

Yet my statement was not without doubts. Mr. Kotwal realized that without difficulty and consequently added forthwith: "Keep it yourself in the meantime and study it and when you have formed an opinion about it let me know."

Thus it happened that this interesting icon remained on my study table for over a month. During this period of time, I had an occasion to compare it with photographs of different Sumerian statues.

Undoubtedly, the image was very much like the early Sumerian images. The big eyes of our image separated by a very broad nose resemble the same organs in the figure of a man from Istabulat now kept in the Ashmolean Museum and in the archaic little statue of the Louvre Museum, though the nose of our icon looks flat owing to its having been rubbed. The whole head reminds one of the head of the image of the Sumerian *patesi* of the period of Ur-Ninâ now in the British Museum, No. 90929. The latter specimen in some respects seems to be a sort of replica of our image. The short size of the statue, the shapeless appearance of the body and the indefinite line

between head and trunk seem to suggest the same artistic ideals, though the icon under study clearly appeared to belong to an earlier period.

As regards the pose of the hands all the Sumerian images down to the famous statues of King Gudea and to that of the Governor of Lagash,[1] have their hands joined before the chest. Yet two slight differences may be noted in the way of joining the hands. Some keep the hands in such a way as to have the palms united, the fingers of each hand turning over the back of the other hand. Others join the hands in such a guise as to have the palm of one over the back of the other, this being completely hidden inside the former. The former pose is found in the images of a later age, Gudea, Ur-Ningursu, son of Gudea (in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen) and the above mentioned Governor of Lagash. But the latter pose of the hands belongs to an earlier period; thus for instance, the early statues from Tal Asmar, the statue of a man seated in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, the above referred to figure of a man in the Ashmolean Museum, the icon of Kur-lil from Al-'Ubaid, now in the British Museum, the archaic little statue of the Louvre Museum already mentioned above.

The statue under study offers a new pose of the hands all the fingers and thumbs of each hand are well seen; the tips of the fingers touch the tips of the fingers of the opposite hand. It is an attempt to carve the hands in a clasped pose. From every point

[1] Cahiers d'Art, *L'Art de Mesopotamie*.

of view this pose seems to be earlier than the early pose described above. The first attempt at joining the hands must have been to clasp them; the pose showing one hand over the other must have been the result of the difficulty of representing the hands in a clasped pose. Nevertheless, this second pose was not artistic, one hand remaining absolutely covered by the other. The third pose was then introduced that lasted till the end of the Sumerian rule.

On the lower portion of the statue four inscriptions enclosed within *cartouches* are incised. The system of inscribing such epigraphs on the lower portion of the statues is purely Sumerian. These inscriptions are also enclosed within lines. It is true that such inscriptions only appear in the statues of a later period: statues of King Gudea appear with inscriptions incised on the lower portion of his garment. So is also the statue of Ur-Ningirsu. The inscriptions of our statue are much shorter. Never more than a line and the side inscriptions have two or three characters only. I compared the characters of those inscriptions with the Sumerian characters and then I felt the greatest disappointment. There were certainly some characters of our inscriptions which were very similar to some characters of the Farah tablets, but certainly our script was not Sumerian script. (Then the tablets of Jemdet Nasr were not yet published. They would have given many more resemblances).

So when Mr. Kotwal called on me a month after, I could not give him a definite answer. The image was not Sumerian, specially on account of the characters of the inscriptions which were not Sumerian.

Yet, it resembled Sumerian images in a marvellous way. Some time afterwards my friend informed me that he had sent a photograph of the image to the British Museum, and they had replied to him from London that the image could not be properly classified.

Some years passed after these events during which the work of Sir John Marshall on *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization* had seen the public light, and some scholars had tried to decipher the cryptic characters of the famous seal inscriptions. The present writer counts himself among them. When he was well acquainted with those characters he easily realized that the characters of the little statue of Mr. Kotwal were of the same type as those of the seal inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. That gentleman had passed away in the meantime. His sons allowed me to inspect the specimen once more and I was thoroughly convinced of the identity of both scripts. Finally a price was agreed upon between Mr. Kotwal's sons and the present writer and thus the image was acquired for the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute of St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

The image is 4½ inches high measuring in its base longest side 2 ins. It is a block of greenish basalt in which very small particles of pirite and mica, invisible to the naked eye, may be discovered through a powerful lens. Such stone may be easily found in the mountains of Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Kashmir.

As regards the general features of the image nothing can be added to the description made in

the beginning of this article. This is certainly striking that the foot of the statue which is a little convex is not circular in shape as it may appear in the photograph, but almost square. This square shape of the bottom of the figure causes its lower portion to look like a prism, the intersections of which are in front, and behind and on each side.

Coming down to the inscriptions, those which are in front and behind are incised on the roundish intersections spoken of above. Both are written in a line, the reading of which commences in the lower portion of the image.

The front inscription has six characters which according to the Mohenjo Daro system of writing read from right to left, as follows :

6 5 4 3 2 1

Sign No. 1 means "the sun," *el* corresponding to the Egyptian ○ . In Mohenjo Daro sometimes it is written thus : .

Sign No. 2 ; H , means "a canal," *kāl*. Our sign therefore means "three canals," *mūnkāl*.

Sign No. 3 is a compound sign, its components being = , and .

= is never found alone but always in compound

signs for instance: X , X , [sign] , etc. It

always reads *a*.

[sign] reads in the Mohenjo Daro sign list *taṛi* which

reads "to dress," "to have," "to cut to pieces," "to destroy."

[sign] is the sign for "the moon," *nila*.

Therefore the whole sign reads *ataṛinila*, "the moon of the thrashing of the grain" (*Ataṛi* is a word used only in the Sangam period of Tamiḷ literature. It is found in *Pattupāṭṭu*, VI, 94. Properly it means "the thrashing of grain with cattle").

Sign No. 4 is sometimes written in the Mohenjo

Daro script thus: [sign] . It means "the back bone,"

"the back," *ven*; and phonctically also means "white." Yet here this sign seems to be purely phonetic. The

real sign here was Ψ *vēl*, but on euphonic grounds

the *l* is to become an *n*. Hence the sign has been

placed instead of Ψ . *Vēl* is used in ancient Tamiḷ

literature for "king."

Sign No. 5 is an evident figure of a crab, *naṇḍ* In

Mohenjo Daro it is always written and ,
which forms evidently are later simplifications of the character of our inscription which is a clear pictograph.

Sign No. 6 in the Mohenjo Daro sign list reads *uḷavan* and means "farmer."

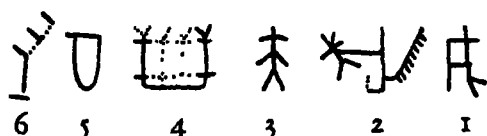
Therefore the whole inscription will read as follows :

El mūnkāl atarinila vēn naṇḍ uḷavan

which means :

"The king farmer of thè crab of the three canals of the sun and of the moon of the thrashing of the grain."

The inscription sounds a little cryptic at first sight, but it is not so. The strange phrase "farmer of the crab" is, as explained elsewhere, a title or denomination of the kings of Mohenjo Daro. The ancient name of this city seems to have been *Naṇḍūr*, "the City of the Crab."[1] Its king was, therefore, called the Farmer of the Crab.[2] The inhabitants of Naṇḍūr are called "Crabs."[3]

The inscription on the back of the image runs thus :

[1] Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, p. 24; *Mohenjo Daro and Sumer*, *Monumenta Nipponica*, I, No. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

[3] Marshall, M. D., No. 17.

This inscription also contains six signs which are interpreted as follows:

Sign No. 1 is the last sign of the preceding inscription , *uḷavan*, "farmer," plus the sign ,

united by a ligature. This little sign in the Mohenjo Daro script always reads *il*, though it has different meanings:

ilil, "*in* the house"

oril, "one *house*"

āṇil, "*the son* of Āṇ"

naṇḍil, "*of* the Crab"

This sign, therefore, will read *uḷavanil*, "of the farmer."

Sign No. 2 is a compound sign to which another sign has been added by ligature. These three signs read as follows:

. In the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions this sign

is incised thus: . It reads *oriḍa*, "one side."*

. A portion of the sign seems to be worn out. It reads *ten*, "south."

, *ḍoñkal*, "lancer." Therefore the whole sign will read: *oriḍatenḍoñkal*, "the southern lancers of one side," i.e. of one regiment.

Sign No. 3 is a man covered with an umbrella. Umbrella is *kuḍ* or *kuḍe*, and man, *āḷ*. Therefore the sign will read *kuḍāḷ*. Now if we take "umbrella man" as the meaning of this word, the inscription does not make any sense. Apparently, this sign here has a purely phonetic value, for *Kūḍal* is the ancient name of the city of Madura.

Sign No. 4 is a little worn out. The whole sign appears like this: . It is found both in Mohenjo Daro and in Sumer inscriptions. It is a pictograph of a "garden" and therefore, in our Proto-Indian language will read *tōṭa*.

Sign No. 5 is also found in Mohenjo Daro. It represents a pot full and stands for "full" or "whole," *i e.*, *mul*. Here it is not used as an adjective qualifying the following word, but as an adverb qualifying the word *tōṭa*. Such use of this word is common even at present.

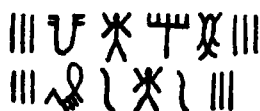
Sign No. 6 stands for a 'tree" *maram*; but since below the sign there is one stroke, which reads *or*, "one," the whole sign reads *maramor*, "trees."

Thus the whole inscription will read:

Uḷavanil oriḍa ten ḍoñkal kūḍal tōṭa mul maramor which means:

"The trees of the whole garden of Kūḍal of the southern lancers of one side (band) of the Farmer."

In order to understand this inscription well, it

must be remembered that the Mohenjo Daro script is *boustrophedon*, *i.e.*, odd lines read from right to left, but even lines read from left to right. Yet if two lines of the same inscription are separated, *i.e.*, not written in continuation, both may read from right to left. This happens for instance in the following inscription :

These two lines are written on two different faces of an oblong object. They are two verses which must evidently be read after one another. Yet the second verse if read from left to right cannot be scanned properly. Therefore even this second line originally separately from the first, must be read from right to left, thus :

Mūn mīn per kadavuḷ adu mūn
Mūn ār kaḍavuḷ ār karumugil mūn

which means :

"The three things (eyes) of the great god are three stars ;
The three rivers of the river god are the three rain clouds."

Our two inscriptions though placed separately on the statue must be treated in the same way. Thus the first line of the inscription is that which is incised on the back of the image, but the second line was carved in front probably because this line contains the full title of the king : *naṇḍ uḷavan*. Thus the

inscription runs as follows:

naṇḍil oriḍa ten ḍoṅkal kūḍal tōṭa mul maramor
el mūnkāl atarinila ven naṇḍuḷavan

which means:

> "The king, farmer of the Crab of the trees of the full garden of Kūḍal of the southern lancers of one band of the farmer, of the three canals of the sun, and of the moon of the thrashing of the grain."

Before giving a full explanation of this inscription let us study the two short side inscriptions.

Enclosed within a small circle these two short inscriptions contain three or four signs. Both must be read in the same direction, following the opposite direction of the front inscription, *i.e.*, having the head of the statue to one's right and its bottom to the left. The first inscription should be read as if one were placed in the centre of the signs.

Inscription on the right of the image:

These four signs, though one is above the other three, are not to be considered to be in two different lines. So after reading the upper sign, the other three read from right to left, thus:

Sign No. 1 are four strokes that stand for the

numeral "four," *i.e. nāl.*

Sign No. 2 belongs to a very extensive family of phonetic signs that begin by *ṭ*. This actually reads *ter*, "to investigate," but occasionally also phonetically means "chariot" in some inscriptions, and this seems to be the meaning on this inscription.

Sign No. 3 is half the original sign . Both the complete sign and its half read *tan*, "to reduce," "to make gifts," "to be generous," "liberal," etc.

Sign No. 4 is "one" *or*.

The inscription will read :

Nāl tēr tan or

which means :

"The generous one of many chariots."

The other inscription of the left side runs as follows :

|Λ/

Sign No. 1 is the same as sign No. 2 of the preceding inscription, *tan*, "generous."

Sign No. 2 reads *kap*, "flag."

Sign No. 3 is "one" *or*.

The reading therefore will be this :

tan kap or

which means :

"The generous one of (one) flag."

Let us now explain all these epigraphs.

The long inscription first mentions the royal title of Mohenjo Daro that is "Farmer of the Crab" as explained above. Three adjectival phrases are pre-

fixed to this title :

i. of the trees of the whole garden of Kūḍal of the southern lancers of one side of the farmer
ii. of the three canals of the sun
iii. of the moon of the thrashing of the grain.

These three things, *viz.*, "the trees of the garden," etc., "the three canals" and "the moon of the thrashing of the grain," seem therefore to be in a particular way connected with this king. He may have planted the trees of the garden, constructed the three canals and fixed a certain moon or lunation for thrashing the grain.

Now descending to each thing in particular we shall note the following : the tree garden mentioned in the inscription is said to be in Kūḍal. This is the old name of the city of Madura.[1] The *Madura Sthala Purāṇa* while narrating the legends concerning the foundation of Madura several times refers to the forest of trees that existed at the place where Madura was founded.[2] Kūḍal is mentioned in the Mohenjo Daro inscription twice, though using another sign in combination to obtain the same phonetic value. is a rope which is twisted in order to unite some objects. It means "to unite," *kūḍ*. If this sign is put in the hand of "man," *āḷ*, thus : ,

[1] In the Sangam period.
[2] Nelson, *The Madura Country*, III, pp. 6, 7, etc.

it reads *kūḍal.* Thus for instance :

[1]

This epigraph reads :

Ir kūḍal ūril ire

(Note that the construction sounds a little awkward for the participle *ire* cannot be found at the end of the phrase without a proper subject behind. This only confirms the suspicion that many of these short inscriptions are portions of longer writings.[2] For instance, if the inscription were thus : *Ir kūḍal ūril ire mīn* only, the construction would be perfect). The inscription means :

"Being in the city of the union of two (rivers ?)" In front of Madura two rivers meet, the Vaigei and the Kritamal.

The other inscription is still shorter :

[3]

It reads :

Or kūḍal adu

and means :

"That (is) one Kūḍal."

The numeral "one" is used as if it were an adjective : since Kūḍal means a number of things put together, *one* shows that they are not many any more, but one.

[1] *Illustrated London News*, October 4th, 1924.

[2] Cf. Heras, *The Longest Inscription of Mohenjo Daro, Journal of Indian History.*

[3] Hunter, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro*, p. 171.

The garden referred to in the inscription is said to have belonged to the southern lancers of one side (or regiment) of the farmer himself. Or perhaps it means of one side of the country, *viz.*, the southern side, for the country of the Mīnas—who formed the bulk of the population of Mohenjo Daro—extended down to the South as we have already shown elsewhere. Vēlūr was its capital.[1] The king of all these Mīnas seem to have received the title of Mīnavan and had two fishes as the *lāñchana* of the tribe on his banner.[2] These were precisely the title and *lāñchana* of the Pāṇḍya kings of Madura from the first century A.D., who according to tradition had come down from the north. This tradition is confirmed by the *Mahābhārata* according to which the Pāṇḍya king was one of the rulers who fought at Kurukṣetra.[3]

The second object with which the title of the king is connected is the three canals of the sun. Canals are often mentioned in the inscriptions: one canal was built by the Paravas in the course of a full year, plus a month of the preceding year.[4] The Mīnas had also many canals in Mīnāḍ.[5] These waterways were also common in the country of the Bilavas.[6] In any case this king seems to be the builder of these three canals, for otherwise you cannot explain this particular association of his title with them.

[1] Heras, *Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land*, *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 714-715.

[2] Heras, *The Mīnavan in Mohenjo Daro*, *Journal of Oriental Research*, X, pp. 281-288.

[3] *Saphoparvan*, 11, 52, 36; *Udyogaparvan*, V, 19, 8.

[4] Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M D., No. 237.

[5] Photo, M D., 1929-30, Dk., No. 8248.

[6] Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D., No. 65.

The third object mentioned in connection with the kingly title is "the moon of the thrashing of the grain." This is the first time that this agricultural operation is mentioned in the inscriptions from Mohenjo Daro. Yet, the harvest is very often spoken of in those ancient epigraphs.[1] One in particular refers to "the moon of the harvest of the Bilavas."[2] Our inscription refers to "the moon of the thrashing of the grain," as if this king had perhaps ordered that the thrashing of grain should be done during a certain period of the moon.

The other two short side inscriptions disclose two war titles of the king, one of which emphasizes the number of chariots of the king in opposition to the oneness of his flag, showing that there were no factions under him. Both style him "generous" as if this were a characteristic feature of that ruler.

What is the age of this piece of sculpture? Its workmanship alone would suggest a very primitive age. This surmise is confirmed by the shape of the sign for the crab which evidently is earlier than the conventional forms and . Therefore this would show that the image under study is earlier than the seals discovered at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and Chañhu Daro, up to the present.

Moreover, we happily possess a few very striking

[1] Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D., Nos. 33, 47, 175, 319, 357, 397, 400, etc.
[2] *Ibid*, No. 69.

pieces of sculpture of that early civilization which will help us to assign a probable date to this icon. The nude torso and the headless dancing youth discovered at Harappa[1] evidently belong to a much later period. Earlier than these images seems to be the polychromed wooden statue discovered at Mohenjo Daro[2], which seems to be the portrait of another king. But, both the perfection of the features of the person portrayed in it and the decoration of the garment evidently suggest an age later than that of our image. Much nearer to it are the heads and statues of plates XCIX and C.[3] No. 7 of pl. CXIC and No. 4 of pl. C seem to be of the same period or at least very near to it. Our statue therefore rightly claims a place among the earliest statues of the Proto-Indian civilization.

In connection with the emigrations of these Proto-Indian people, which I have elsewhere exposed,[4] the statue under study is evidently earlier than the earliest Sumerian statues we possess and must be placed before the emigration to Mesopotamia, for there is an evident gradation between it and those of Sumer.

What will finally be the date we may assign to this image? Since the earliest stone statues of Sumer discovered till the present were found in the Royal Cemetery of Ur,[5] which dates from 3,500 B.C. to

[1] Marshall, *op. cit.*, pls. X and XI.
[2] *Ibid.*, III, pl. XCVIII.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Cf. Heras, *Mohenjo Daro and Sumer*, *Documenta Nipponica*, I, No. 2.
[5] Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art*, p. 89. The

3,200 B.C.,[1] we may safely suggest the end of the fifth millennium B.C. as the probable date of this extraordinary piece of sculpture.

statues of Tell Asmar, earlier than these, though undoubtedly Sumerian, are influenced by another northern current of sculpture, which places them outside the purely Sumerian school. Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 60-61.

[1] Cf. Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees*, p. 88.

CHANDESHVARA'S VIVĀDARATNĀKARA

We have been told that the *Vivādaratnākara*—the most authoritative *Nibandha* for *Maithilas*—is only a *verbatim* reproduction of the 'Vivāda' section of Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru.* Knowing as we do that Chandeshvara, in his work, has in several places quoted and discussed the opinion of the *Kalpataru*, we find ourselves unable to accept the above statement. Cases of such plagiarism in Sanskrit literature are not unknown; but it does not appear to be true in the case in question: when it is found that Chandeshvara has referred to the work by name. Persons who may possess manuscripts of this section of the *Kṛtyakalpadruma* will be doing a great service to the memory of *Chandeshvara* if they will compare the two works and publish the results of this comparison.

GANGANATH JHA

DEVANĀGARĪ AND THE MUHAMMADAN RULERS OF INDIA

By HIRANANDA SASTRI

That India had one common alphabet during the Mauryan epoch of her history is a fact which is known to archaeologists, or rather to epigraphists, who have studied the inscriptions written in the early Brāhmī script. India in this case does not mean any particular part of the sub-continent going by that designation, but the whole of the vast land or country extending from Cape Comorin to the Himalayan regions. Aśoka the Great Maurya Emperor might not have ruled over the whole of the sub-continent, but the alphabet which he employed in his widely known edicts was used even by private individuals in regions which were not included in his vast Empire. Even in Ceylon this script was used in those days. Several inscriptions have been discovered in the extreme south of India, i.e. in the Tinnevelly district, which were written in the Brāhmī *lipi* of the Mauryan type. Similar epigraphs are found in Ceylon also. This *lipi* was obviously employed because the people inhabiting those regions could read it. It gave rise to several alphabets which began to be used in different provinces. The forms of the letters got changed gradually. All the same they are the modifications, and the mother-script is Brāhmī which was once the common script of the

whole of India. An ordinary comparison will demonstrate the point and there is no need of entering into discussion over it here. One of these developments is termed Devanāgarī or Nāgarī. Why it is so called can not be affirmed definitely, but it was the alphabet of the *Nāgaras* or the highly civilised people. It assumed a somewhat settled shape about the 7th century of the Christian era, so much so that a chart of it was appended to the manuscript of the *Ushṇīshavijayadhāriṇī* sent to Japan along with other manuscripts now known under the name of Horiuzi palm-leaves, which, according to the Japanese tradition, certainly existed in the second half of the 6th century A.D. The late Dr. Bühler says about this alphabet: "It must be conceded that an alphabet closely resembling the modern Devanāgarī was in general use certainly in the 7th and 8th centuries and probably at a much earlier date." The evidence of the Samangaḍh grant of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga, which belongs to the year 754 A.D., would show that it was developed into this form in the 8th century of the Christian era. Bühler has already elucidated the point in his monumental work on Indian palaeography. About the 10th century A.D. the script became stereotyped and assumed a form which practically continues and will continue for ever. Slight differences are at times observable, but they are individual or idiosyncratic. The Jainas, it may be noticed in passing, had their own way of writing these letters. Practice is required to read them with ease. At the time of the advent of Islām there was practically one stereotyped form of Devanāgarī or Nāgarī, and it was

current chiefly in Northern India although instances of its use are found in the South also. The Jainas, it may be remarked, were fond of it and wrote their books and letters in it. I possess Jaina manuscripts written in Aurangābād in this very alphabet and in the Vikrama year 1780 (=1723 A.D.) although the script of the local people then was not Nāgarī but Kanarese. Not only this, they seem to be the originators of Hindi poetry. The oldest *Dohās* yet known were written by the Jainas. This fact has been elucidated by the versatile scholar in whose memory these lines have been written, my late lamented friend, nay brother Dr. K. P. Jayaswāl, the well-known champion of Hindi. If I am not mistaken, the oldest metrical works in Hindi are from the pen of the Jaina *munis* and the advocates of Hindi will bow down to them on this account. These works are no doubt in Prakrit, but that Prakrit is akin to Hindi and was its precursor. But this is not the point to be discussed here. The fact is that though there were several minor scripts in the north yet at the time of the Musalmān conquest Devanāgarī was the main alphabet employed by the rulers of the country. Al-Berūni, the famous Muhammadan scholar who entered the train of Mahamūd of Ghaznā during his expeditions thus speaks of it in his *Tahkīk-i-Hind* ('An enquiry into India') which was finished about 1030 A.D. and is of very great value as an account of Hindu manners, science, and literature. "The Hindus had once forgotten the art of writing and that through a divine inspiration it was rediscovered by Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara." These remarks of the great Muhammadan

Sanskritist would show that in his age Devanāgarī was the common script of the Hindus. Mahamūd must have recognised it as the chief alphabet of India and consequently used it in his well-known silver coin he issued from Mahamūdpur or Lahore in the Hijri year 418 (=1027 A.D.). The coin has already been published. He got the *Kalimā* translated into Sanskrit and written on its obverse in this very alphabet of the persons who were to him Kāfirs or idolatrous unbelievers. It reads :

'अव्यक्तमेकं म्हम्मद अवतार नृपति महमूद'

'God is one invisible, Muhammad his representative, Mahamūd the king.' The reverse of it gives अय टकम् महमूदपुरघटिते हिर्जिरियेन सबति ४१८, i.e., this coin was struck at Mahamūdpur (or Lahore) in the Hijri year 418. The Sanskrit is faulty, but that does not matter much in this case. The fact remains that a zealot of the type of Mahamūd of Ghaznā who had no soft corner in his heart for the Hindus employed their script on his coin and got the sacred *kalimā* written in it.

Muḥammad Bin Sām, the Sultān king of Delhi, in his gold coins even allowed the image of Lakshmī or the Goddess of Wealth to remain on the obverse and got the legend श्रीमुहम्मदविनिसाम् written on the reverse. The coins of Shamsu-d-dīn Altamash (1210-1235 A.D.) and of Ruknu-d-dīn Fīroz Shāh (1235-36 A.D.) give legends in Devanāgarī. Not only these Musalmān rulers, but the following ones also accommodated the Devanāgarī alphabet in their coins :

(1) Jalālu-d-dīn Raziya, the well-known queen who ruled from 1236-1239 A.D.

(2) Mu'izzu-d-dīn Bahrām Shāh (1239-1241 A.D.).
(3) Alāu-d-dīn Mas'aūd Shāh (1241-1246 A.D.).
(4) Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd (1246-1265 A.D.).
(5) Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Balban (1265-1287 A.D.).
(6) Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād (1287-1290 A.D.).
(7) Jalālu-d-dīn Fīroz II (1290-1295 A.D.).
(8) Alāu-d-dīn Muhammad Shāh II (1295-1315).

Ghiyāsu-d-din Tughalaq who ruled from 1320-1325 A.D. also employed this script on his coins where we find श्री सुलता गयासुदी. Also his successor Muhammad III. Bin Tughlaq has on some of his coins श्री: मोहमद written in this very script. During later times we find Sher Shāh the talented founder of the Sūri dynasty, who wrested the Indian Empire from Humāyūn and reigned successfully from 1540-1545 A.D. marking his rule with several works of public utility. Using this script in writing legends on his coins. His successors Islām Shāh (1545-1552 A.D.) and Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh (1552-56 A.D.) made similar use of it.

Further, we find that several other Musalmān rulers had no objection to the use of the Nāgarī *lipi*. For instance Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Ivāz who ruled Bengal from 1211-1216 A.D., Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Bahādur Shāh, who reigned from 1554-1560 A.D. and Dāūd Shāh Kararāni who governed the province from 1572-1576 A.D. wrote their legends in this script. The four independent Musalmān rulers who were the contemporaries of the Sultān kings of Delhi viz., Nāṣiru-d-dīn Qubāchā (1203-1298 A.D.), Jalālu-d-dīn of *Khwārizm* (1220-1224 A.D.), Saifu-d-dīn Al-Ḥasan Qurlagh (1239-

1249 A.D.) and Nāṣiru-d-dīn Muhammad Qurlagh (1249 A.D.) also marked their coins with legends in Hindi.

Further it may well be pointed out in this connection that one Sessanian dynasty which was established in western India after the invasion of the Huns used the Devanāgarī script on the coins along with the Pahlavī. One of these coins bears the name of Shāhī Tigin and the Nāgarī legend signifying "*King of India and Persia.*"

These facts would clearly demonstrate that Muhammadan rulers of various dynasties that governed India, ever since the 'Crescent' began to wave on her soil, were friendly to the script of Devanāgarī which is now in great disfavour of the Musalmān population of India. Exigencies of time required it, and the good will of the teeming millions of the Hindus also supported it. May the Indian Musalmāns take note of the facts given above and, leaving aside prejudices, if there are any, let Devanāgarī follow its course without interruption in India.

SUṄGA SCULPTURE FROM A PATNA MOSQUE

(WITH PLATE)

By A. BANERJI-SASTRI

There is an old mosque, called "Sher Shah's Mosque," in Mahalla Dholpura, Patna City. The local tradition is that it was built in the time of Sher Shah. It is now in a dilapidated condition. Out of the portions that are actually giving way, came out a piece of sculpture. Through the kind offices of the Mutwalli of the mosque, Maulana S. M. Qasim, the Curator of the Patna Museum, Mr. S. A. Shere brought the sculpture to the Patna Museum on the 11th August 1937. It bears No. 8178 in the Archaeological Register of the Patna Museum.

The stone measures 20″×10″×5″, and is the same grey sandstone from Chunar used in the well-known Dīdargañj Yakṣī image without that image's polish. The piece is intact and was used as a prop in the masonry work with the front view built in and concealed.

Since the excavations at Kumrāhar in 1913-14 by Spooner, Patna has yielded Mauryan (III cen. B. C.) and Śuṅgan (II-I cen. B. C.) specimens of plastic art. Qualitatively the disparity was marked in the Maurya group. The Pārkham statue and its female counterpart are crude works in comparison to the two Yakṣas

Śunga Sculpture from Patna Mosque

of Patna, the Dīdargañj Yakṣī, and the polished torso recently discovered from Lohanipur (Patna) and published in the J. B. O. R. S., June 1937. The Śuṅga group as represented at Patna, Bodh-Gayā, Sāñcī and Bārhūt show a marked uniformity of conception and treatment.

Being struck by the powerful feeling for volume in the Bārhūt sculptures, Marshall[1] had suggested the influence of Graeco-Bactrian artists from the 4th century B. C. on Mauryan art. The Śuṅgan art, however, is a continuation of the ancient and archaic art of woodcarving and clay sculpture.[2]

The present piece has all the characteristics of this native art:

(*i*) It is evidently part of a frieze in a hedge or a wall : the close relationship between architecture and plastic art are typically Indian and best represented in Śuṅgan art at Bodh-Gayā, Bārhūt and Sāñcī, where forms and figures are not erected in space but are a plastically felt and architecturally shaped mass.

(*ii*) It represents two lovers under a tree. From the very beginning early Indian plastic art has depicted the human body framed in architecture and surrounded by landscape. The two figures here fill the space. The emphasis, however, is not on space, but the sum total of the two individual

[1] Marshall, C. H. I., p. 627.
[2] Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, p. 12.

figures and the tree.

(*iii*) The most important feature of this Patna sculpture is that chiaroscuro which has remained the characteristic trait of Indian plastic art from the time of the Suṅgas in the II century B. C. till today. Note the dark back ground from which the two figures emerge so bright and clear. The effect is produced here not by connecting the shades but by making the two bodies stand close together. In the photograph the trunk of the tree almost protrudes between the two figures separating them and itself from the tree. The relief of the tree accidentally allows the ground to be perceived and intentionally indicates the locality.

(*iv*) Lastly, this sculpture represents that phase of Indian sensualism that was not yet divorced from spiritualism.

The sculpture is almost a panel from the life of the Suṅga king Agnimitra as described in Kālidāsa's famous drama *Mālavikāgnimitra*, where the king fell in love with Mālavikā, his Queen's protégée, and herself a princess in distress serving her mistress as a maid. Her embarrassed look with a hesitant hand posed on the king's neck accentuates the none too forward approach of the king holding a present with one hand and timidly twining the lady with the other and both fit in with an episode of the play.

It may, however, be a model of just another pair

of lovers, for the Suṅgan art comes spontaneously and voluntarily from the heart of India. As Bachhofer[1] has put it: "The whole people are now the customers and patrons; kings and citizens, artisans and monks being the founders."

[1] Bachhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

RĀJAH JHĀO LĀL OF THE OUDH COURT*

By KALIKINKAR DATTA

Rājah Jhāo Lāl was the son of Lālā Gulāb Rāy *mutasaddie* (clerk), a Sāksenā Kāyastha of Lucknow.[1] He was employed under the Oudh government since the time of Nawāb Shujā-ud-daulah,[2] and was a favourite attendant of Asaf-ud-daulah.[3] At the beginning of the administration of Asaf-ud-daulah (January 1775—March 1797), he held the post of superintendent of the *dīwānkhānā*[4] and created much influence in the Oudh court due to the patronage of the Nawāb Wazir.[5] He was then known as Lālluji.[6] Though he had his own wife and sons, he was addicted to debauchery,[7] the most common vice among the aristocracy of the age, and was also a very designing man, who sought to utilise the prevailing disorders in Oudh to his own advantage.

*Based on some unpublished English letters (quoted in the appendix to this article), Mirāt-ul-Ahwal of Aka Ahmad Bahbahni (Manuscript no. 628 in the Oriental Public Library, Patna), and Imād-us-Saadat of Ghulām Ali (Lucknow text). Aka Ahmad Bahbahni came from Kirman to India in 1202 A.H (1787 A.D.) and after travelling for some years finally settled at Patna, where he wrote this work in 1224 A.H. (1809 A.D.).

[1] Mirāt-ul-Ahwal.
[2] Imād, p. 129.
[3] Mirāt.
[4] Imād, p. 129.
[5] Ibid. Mirāt.
[6] Imād, p. 129.
[7] Ibid.

The rivalries and intrigues of the depraved Indian nobility of the 18th century form indeed a sad tale in the history of the time and was largely responsible for the administrative abuses, which ate into the vitality of the Delhi Empire and the different independent governments in the provinces. The consequent internal bankruptcy of these governments naturally brought external intervention and ultimately imposed foreign yoke upon them. This is very strikingly illustrated in the history of Oudh since the death of Shujā-ud-daulah on the 26th January, 1775. His weak successor Asaf-ud-daulah could not duly restrain the base intrigues of the nobles of his court, and the inevitable came after his death in March 1797.

The growing influence of Jhāo Lāl soon excited the jealousy of some prominent officers of Asaf-ud-daulah's court, like his deputy Husain Rezā Khān and others,[1] who succeeded in removing him from the post of the superintendent of the *diwānkhānā*, which was conferred on Miān Basant.[2] But Jhāo Lāl still continued to enjoy the favour of his master, the Nawāb Wazir, and consequently his influence in the court remained as dominant as before. He on his part formed a conspiracy against his enemies and poisoned Asaf-ud-daulah's mind against them to such an extent that the Nawāb Wazir dismissed Husain Rezā Khān and Tikat Rāy from his service.[3] Mr. Cherry, Agent

[1] The names of these officers occur in a letter from Mr. Otto Ives, Resident at the Court of the Nawab Wazir, dated Lucknow, May 20, 1793, to Mr. E. E. Pote, Commercial Resident at Patna (now preserved in the library of the B. and O. Research Society).

[2] Imād, p. 129.

[3] Mirāt.

to the Governor-General, supported the cause of the cashiered officers of Asaf-ud-daulah, who was thereupon prevailed upon by Jhāo Lāl to order Mr. Cherry to leave Lucknow.[1]

The Governor-General Sir John Shore could not remain indifferent to this state of things in Oudh. He proceeded to Lucknow, accompanied by Tafāzzul Husain Khān, formerly a tutor of Saadat Ali brother of Asaf-ud-daulah but then employed as the agent of the Oudh Nawab in Calcutta.[2] Tafāzzul Husain Khān acted as an intermediary in the negotiations between the Governor-General and the Nawāb Wazir of Oudh, and soon got himself appointed deputy of the latter in the vacancy caused by the dismissal of Husain Rezā Khān.[3] He impressed upon the Governor-General the necessity of removing Jhāo Lāl from Lucknow. He represented Jhāo Lāl as a man of low origin, from whom nothing but mischief could be expected, and who "was following the faith neither of the Muslims nor of the *Kāfirs* (unbelievers) but used to observe Nemaz and at the same time followed the customs of the Hindus."[4] The Governor-General at once expelled Bāluk Rām, the principal adherent of Jhāo Lāl, from Lucknow and soon asked Asaf-ud-daulah to follow the same course regarding the latter.[5] After some hesitation, the Nawāb gave his consent to

[1] Mirāt.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. Mr. H. Beveridge writes in the *Calcutta Review* of 1883 that though a Hindu Jhāo Lāl "seems to have turned Mahomedan at Lucknow, and his daughters were afterwards married to Mahomedan grandees in Lucknow."
[5] Ibid.

the proposal of the Governor-General, when the latter adduced some proofs of Jhāo Lāl's intrigues and ingratitude.[1] There is no doubt that Jhāo Lāl's intriguing nature had made him extremely unpopular in Lucknow. The author of *Mirāt-ul-Ahwal*, who was then at Fayzābād, writes that everyone, whom he happened to meet, expressed satisfaction at the expulsion of Jhāo Lāl and Bāluk Rām.

The Nawāb Wazir was generous enough to allow Jhāo Lāl to go out of the city with all that belonged to him. Jhāo Lāl was inclined to live at Benares but the Company's Government was opposed to it because of the proximity of the place to Oudh.[2] The Governor-General permitted him to reside at Azimābād (Patna) on an allowance and assured him that he "will find no restraint or molestation" in his person or property while he conducted himself "according to the Regulations of the Government to which all are subject who reside under its protection."[3]

Jhāo Lāl occupied a house in the Patna City near the *Chibil Satun*[4] and there is a *mahāllā* (quarter) in the

[1] Mirāt

[2] Vide Appendix.

[3] Ibid.

[4] A palace of forty pillars occupied by the Deputy Governors of Bihār. It stood just behind the mosque of Saif Khān's *mādrāsah*. (This *mādrāsah* stood on the bank of the Ganges east of Chimni Ghāt in Patna City. No remains of the *mādrāsah* can be traced now. But the mosque attached to it still remains.) Buchanan remarked about the *Chibil Satun* in 1811-12: "Chehel Sutoon, the palace of the Viceroy of Bihar, which has accommodated many personages of royal birth and which 50 years ago was in perfect preservation and occupied by the King's son (Shah Alam), can now be scarcely traced in a few detached portions retaining no marks of grandeur." Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. I, p. 71.

city known after him as Jhāoganj. His movements at Patna were strictly watched by the Company's government. He and his follower Bāluk Rām were suspected of being implicated in the conspiracy of Wazir Ali against the Company in 1798-99. Mr. Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna,[1] was therefore ordered by the Governor-General on the 22nd February, 1799, to apprehend Jhāo Lāl and his dependant Bāluk Rām, to "keep them in close custody" and to obtain possession of their private papers.[2] When somehow or other Jhāo Lāl went to Calcutta, the Governor-General expressed surprise at his "being suffered to repair to Calcutta without the permission of Government or without any intimation.............. of the Rajah's design or of his actual departure" being sent to him by Mr. Henry Douglas.[3] Mr. Douglas was instructed on the 26th March, 1799, not to allow Rājah Jhāo Lāl "to quit Patna upon any pretence whatever, without the permission of Government...... "[4] But by the month of July of the same year the suspicions against Jhāo Lāl and Bāluk Rām were proved to be "without foundation," the guards and restraints placed over them were removed, their papers were returned to them, and Jhāo Lāl was informed that "he may rely with the fullest confidence on the future

[1] Mr. G. F. Grand, the first Magistrate of the city of Patna, was succeeded by Mr. Henry Douglas in this office in 1792. The latter held it till his death in 1838 with occasional gaps; as for example, Mr. R B. Gardiner acted as the Magistrate of Patna from the third week of October 1810—May 1811 and Mr. Thomas Fortescue from June to December 1811. Mr. Douglas returned to his post at the beginning of 1812.

[2] Vide Appendix.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

favour and protection of Government."[1] He was, however, kept under the restriction of not leaving "the place of his residence without the express permission of Government."[2]

During his residence at Patna, Rājah Jhāo Lāl was reduced to straits and made "repeated representations" to the Company's Government for pecuniary help. The Governor-General, Marquis of Wellesley, being satisfied that his "distresses are real" granted him a pension of Rs. 2,000 per mensem with effect from the month of October 1801, when the Governor-General himself visited Patna.[3] The pension was "to be merely personal" and "to be subject to abridgement or resumption in the event of any misconduct on his (Jhāo Lāl's) part."[4] In the month of January 1804, Rājah Jhāo Lāl submitted a memorial to the Governor-General "soliciting the British Government to procure the restitution of some property which he left in charge of a person, named Roy Jeswant Roy, at the period of his retirement from Lucknow" and "applying for a pass for protection of his family from Lucknow to Patna."[5] The Governor-General wrote to Mr. Henry Douglas to inform Rājah Jhāo Lāl that the Company's Resident at Lucknow had been directed to request the Nawāb Wazir of Oudh "to grant permission for his family to proceed to Patna,"[6] but that no interference could be made "in the settlement

[1] Vide Appendix.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.

of his affairs."[1] In the year 1807 a suit was instituted against Rājah Jhāo Lāl, by some Lucknow bankers, in the city court of Patna "for the recovery of a sum of money" stated by him "to have been borrowed for the use" of the late Nawab Wazir Asaf-ud-daulah. Rājah Jhāo Lāl thereupon submitted two memorials to the Governor-General in September 1807 and March 1808 "requesting that the Judge of Patna may be prohibited from taking cognizance of any suits of that nature which may be instituted" against him.[2] In view of the "uniform propriety" of Rājah Jhāo Lāl's conduct during the period of his residence within the British dominions, the Government was desirous of manifesting towards him "every practicable degree of favour and indulgence," but it regretted that a compliance with his request made at that time "exceeds the limits, which the British Government, with a view to the security of the rights of its subjects, has prescribed for the exercise of its authority."[3] It refused to interfere in the administration of justice, which was "exclusively vested in the Courts of Judicature constituted for that purpose."[4] Rājah Jhāo Lāl then raised the defence that he could not be sued as he was living at Patna under compulsion.[5] But his plea was overruled by the Sadar Diwāni Ādālat in 1810.[6]

Bāluk Rām also was reduced to pecuniary dis-

[1] Vide Appendix.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] McNaughten's Select Reports, Vol. I.
[6] Ibid.

tress, and early in April 1807 he appealed to the Company's Government for a pension and for permission to return to Lucknow. The Governor-General did not grant him any pension but permitted him to go back to Lucknow to settle his affairs and accordingly authorised Mr. Henry Douglas to furnish him with the sum of Rs. 2,000 for the expenses of his journey to Lucknow, a letter of introduction to Colonel Collins, the Company's Resident in Oudh, and a *khelāt* in the name of the Governor-General, of value not exceeding Rs. 500, "as a testimony of the satisfaction which the conduct of Roy Baulik (Bāluk Rām), during the period of his residence at Patna, has afforded the British Government." Bāluk Ram pressed for "further pecuniary assistance," to which the Government could not afford to consent.

APPENDIX

1. "As the two Hircurrahs who accompany Rajah Jao Laul from Benares to Patna will be of no use after his arrival, Sir John Shore authorises me to request that you will dismiss them." Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to H. Douglas, dated Calcutta, 30th May, 1797.

2. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General to acknowledge the receipt of your arzie to his address (vide that received 2nd June, 1797) and to inform you, that your immediate compliance with his desire that you should take up your residence at Patna instead of Benares was very proper. He has further instructed me to add that you will find no restraint or molestation in your person or property while you conduct yourself according to the Regulations of Government to which all are subject who reside under its protection, and that in this confidence you will have no fears or apprehensions." Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to Rajah Jao Laul, dated 19th September annexed to a letter from Mr. N. B. Edmonstone to H. Douglas, dated 16th June, 1797.

3. "I am favoured with your letter (recapitulate that received 5th September) and am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General in reply to inform you, that he does not mean to impose any restrictions upon you as to the place of your residence and that you are at liberty to reside wherever you may find

it most convenient in full security within the Company's provinces except in the province of Benares."

Letter from N. B. Edmonstone to Rajah Jao Laul, dated 19th September 1797, annexed to a letter from N. B. Edmonstone to H. Douglas, dated 19th September, 1797.

4. "The Vice-President in Council having reason to believe that Rajah Jaou Loll, formerly in the service of the late Vizier AssufudDowlah, has been carrying on a correspondence with Vizier Ally, the Vice-President in Council desires that you will apprehend Jaou Loll and his dependant Balukram, and keep them in close custody in a House which you will provide for that purpose.

(*ii*) It should be an object of your particular attention to endeavour to obtain possession of the private papers of Jaou Loll and Balukram. To ensure the accomplishment of this object, it will be necessary that your measures should be taken with the utmost secrecy.

(*iii*) You will take Jaou Loll and Balukram into custody between the 17th and the 20th of next month, unless you should previously receive any application from the Magistrate at Benares to defer their apprehension to later date."

Letter from G. H. Burlow,* Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William the 22nd February, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate at Patna.

5. "As however Jou Loll is a person who may reasonably be suspected of having entered with the views of Vizier Ally I have thought it would be proper to acquaint you with the circumstances that by

communicating it to the proper Civil Servant of the Company at Patna, a watch might be kept on the conduct of the person alluded to."

Letter from J. H. Craigg (? or Craigh), Officer Commanding at Dinapore, dated 25th February, 1799.

6. "I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to intimate to you his Lordship's desire that you will immediately take such measures as may be in your power without exciting the apprehensions or manifesting any suspicion of Rajah Jaoo Laul, for ascertaining the number and description of the persons composing his family and retinue, the nature and extent of his intercourse with Persons of rank and condition at Patna, as well as of his foreign Correspondence and connections; and report to me for the information of his Lordship the result of your enquiries, together with such further circumstances of his general conduct, condition and views, as you may be already acquainted with or may be able to ascertain. His Lordship further desires that under the same precautions you will continue to keep yourself informed upon the points above mentioned, as far as may be practicable.

I am further directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to take the present occasion of intimating to you his surprise at Rajah Jaoo Laul's being suffered to repair to Calcutta without the permission of Government and without any intimation from you either of the Rajah's design or of his actual departure from Patna when you were officially informed that it was the pleasure of Government that he should reside.

In consequence of this omission the Rajah arrived in the neighbourhood of Calcutta before it was known to Government that he had quitted Patna, and his presence was the occasion of great trouble and embarrassment. His Lordship directs me to observe, that, the pressure and importance of other public affairs has alone prevented him from conveying to you His Sentiments upon this subject until now. His Lordship now instructs me to request that hereafter, you will not allow Rajah Jaoo Laul to quit Patna upon any pretence whatever, without the permission of Government, to which end, on receiving notice of any such intention on his part you will be pleased to signify to him the orders you have received, and require him to suspend it, until the pleasure of Government shall be known."

Letter from................dated Fort William the 26th March, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Judge and Magistrate at Patna.

7. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to desire, that you will withdraw the Guard placed over Rajah Jao Loll's House, and that you will inform him, that he is no longer to consider himself under restraint.

(*ii*) You will also inform him that all his papers will shortly be returned to him.

(*iii*) In communicating the above orders to Rajah Jao Loll, you will acquaint him that it has afforded the Vice-President in Council, the greatest satisfaction to find, that the suspicions which occasioned his being subjected to restraint, have proved without foundation, and that he may rely with the fullest

confidence on the future favor and protection of Government."

Letter from G. H. Burlow, dated Fort William the 25th July, 1799 to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna.

8. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to desire, that you will withdraw the Guard placed over Balluk Ram, at the same time informing him that he is no longer to consider himself under restraint.

You will likewise inform Balluk Ram that his papers will be returned to him in a few days."

Letter from John Stracey, Sub-Secretary, dated Fort William the 20th August, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna.

9. "His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General having taken into consideration the repeated representations of Rajah Jhao Laul respecting his pecuniary distresses and having reason to be satisfied, that whatever funds he might have possessed have been exhausted, and that his distresses are real, has been pleased to grant to Rajah Jhao Laul a pension of two thousand Rupees per Mensem to commence from the Month of October 1801 the date of the Governor-General's arrival at Patna.

(2) You will be pleased to communicate this arrangement to Rajah Jhaoo Laul, and to inform him that this pension is to be merely personal and is to be subject to abridgement or resumption in the event of any misconduct on his part.

(3) I am further directed to inform you that the existing restriction by which Rajah Jhaoo Laul is

prohibited from quitting the place of his residence, without the express permission of Government, is to continue in full force.

(4) I am also directed to inform you, that the payment of Rajah Jhaoo Laul's Pension and the immediate superintendence of his conduct are committed to your charge. Orders have accordingly been issued to the Collector of Bihar directing him to furnish you Monthly with the amount of the Pension from his Treasury to enable you to pay it to Rajah Jhaoo Laul.

(5) The Collector of Bihar has also been authorised to pay to you, for the same purpose, the arrears of pension due to Rajah Jhaoo Laul from the first of October 1801."

Letter from N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna, dated 10th November, 1802.

10. "I am directed by the Honourable the Vice-President to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th January last, transmitting a Memorial from Rajah Jhaoo Laul to Marquess Wellesley, soliciting the British Government to procure the restitution of some property which he left in charge of a person, named Roy Jeswant Roy, at the period of his retirement from Lucknow within the Company's Dominions; and applying for a pass for the protection of his family from Lucknow to Patna, and to desire that you will inform Jhaoo Laul in reply, that the Resident at Lucknow has been directed to request His Excellency the Vizier to grant permission for his family to proceed to Patna; but that no interference

can be made in the settlement of his affairs, as it appears on enquiry that Futteh Singh, the son of the late Roy Jeswant Roy, is gone to Patna and that Rajah Jhaoo Laul has no agent at present at Lucknow."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, dated Fort William, 4th December, 1805, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna.

11. "I have received your two memorials on the subject of a suit which has been instituted against you in the City Court of Patna for the recovery of a sum of money stated by you to have been borrowed for the use of the Government of the late Vizier AssafooDawlah, and requesting that the Judge of Patna may be prohibited from taking cognizance of any suits of that nature which may be instituted against you.

(Vide memorials received 14th September, 1807 and 1st March, 1808.)

The uniform propriety of your conduct during the period of your Residence within the British Dominions, renders Government desirous of manifesting towards you every practicable degree of favor and indulgence, and of contributing to the ease and satisfaction of your mind. It is a subject of regret to me, therefore, that a compliance with your present request exceeds the limits which the British Government, with a view to the security of the rights of its subjects, has prescribed for the exercise of its authority.

It must be well known to you, that the administration of Justice is exclusively vested in Courts of

Judicature constituted for that purpose; and that to secure the impartiality of investigation and decision, Government has expressly renounced the authority to interfere for the purpose of superseding or influencing the proceedings of those Courts. It will be evident to you, therefore, that the transmission of the prohibitory orders, which you have solicited to the magistrate of Patna, is altogether inadmissible.

I have directed Mr. Monckton to explain these circumstances more in detail to your agent, who will communicate them to you.

With regard to the payment of your pension through the Magistrate of Patna, the idea which you have associated with that mode of payment never occurred to the contemplation of the British Government. In consequence of the sentiments expressed in your last memorial upon this subject, however, I have issued orders authorizing the future payment of your stipend through the channel of the Collector of Behar."

Letter to Rajah Jhaoo Laul, dated the 28th March, 1808.

12. "I have the honor to transmit to you for the purpose of being delivered to Roy Baulik Ram, the enclosed letter which I have addressed to him by command of the Honourable the Governor-General, in reply to that which was enclosed in your private letter to Mr. Edmonstone of the 4th of June last.

Copies of my letter to Roy Baulik Ram, in the English and Persian languages, accompany for your information.

The Governor-General in Council does not consi-

der Roy Baulik Ram to possess any claim upon the British Government to a pension. In consideration of his pecuniary distress however, the Governor-General in Council is disposed to grant Roy Baulik Ram a small sum of money for the expenses of his journey to Lucknow, and accordingly authorizes you to advance him the sum of 2,000 Rupees for that purpose.

You will be pleased to notify the departure of Roy Baulik Ram from Patna to the Resident of Lucknow."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna, dated the 16th February, 1807.

13. "I have had the pleasure to receive your letter. (Recapitulate substance of that received 11th June).

With respect to your desire to return to Lucknow, you were informed, as you have correctly stated, that, His Excellency the Nabob Vizier being the independent Ruler of his own country, it was necessary to obtain His Excellency's consent to that measure; and that Colonel Collins, the Resident at His Excellency's Court, had been desired to ascertain whether His Excellency had any objection to your returning to Lucknow. By a communication which has since been received from Colonel Collins, it appears that His Excellency has no objection to your return. I am therefore authorized and directed by the Honourable the Governor-General to inform you, that you are at liberty to proceed to Lucknow for the purpose of settling your affairs, and to fix your future residence

at any place which you may think proper.

In consideration of your pecuniary distress, the Governor-General has been pleased to authorize Mr. Douglas the Magistrate at Patna to advance you the sum of 2,000 Rupees for the expenses of your journey.

For further particulars I am directed to refer you to the verbal communication of Mr. Douglas."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to Roy Baulik Ram, dated the 16th February, 1807.

14. "I have the honor to transmit to you, for the purpose of being delivered to Roy Baulik Ram, the enclosed letter, which, by direction of the Honourable the Governor-General, I have addressed to him in reply to the Memorial which was transmitted in your address of the 4th ultimo.

Copies, in the English and Persian languages, of my letter to Roy Baulik Ram, accompany for your information.

I am directed to desire, that, in delivering my letter to Roy Baulik Ram, you will make a communication to him in the spirit of its contents, and endeavour to convince him of the inutility of his renewing his application for further pecuniary aid.

I am further directed to desire, that, on the departure of Roy Baulik Ram from Patna, you will furnish him with a letter of introduction to the Resident at Lucknow, and invest him with a Khellaut in the name of the Honourable the Governor-General, as a testimony of the satisfaction which the conduct of Roy Baulik Ram, during the period of his residence

at Patna, has afforded the British Government.

The Khellaut should not exceed the value 500 Rupees."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to H. Douglas, Magistrate at the city of Patna, dated Fort William the 8th May, 1807.

15. "The Governor-General has perused the memorial which you addressed to him, in consequence of the communication made to you in my letter of the 16th February.

In a former memorial you requested permission to depart from Patna in search of a livelihood as the alternative of receiving a permanent provision from the British Government. The Governor-General could not consider you to possess any claim whatever to a pension, but consented to relieve you from the obligation of residing at Patna. The alternative, therefore, which you solicited has been granted. That indulgence, however, did not originate in any change of those sentiments with respect to your former conduct, which was the occasion of your being sent to Patna, but in motives of benevolence yielding to the urgency of your solicitation, and in the confidence that you would regulate your future conduct in a manner consistent with a just impression of the favor of the British Government.

If you have any claim to a provision, the Governor-General observes that your claim is upon Rajah Jhaoo Laul, whose immediate Dependant you are, yet, in consideration of your distress, as described in your memorials, the Governor-General was pleased to grant you the sum of 2,000 Rupees for the expense

of your journey to Lucknow.

The Governor-General is therefore under the necessity of declining compliance with your application for further pecuniary aid.

As a testimony of the satisfaction, however, which your conduct has afforded the British Government during the period of your residence at Patna, Mr. Douglas has been directed, on your departure from Patna, to invest you with a Khellaut in the name of the Honourable the Governor-General.

Mr. Douglas has further been desired to furnish you with a letter of introduction to the Resident at Lucknow."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to Roy Baulik Ram, dated 8th May, 1807.

16. "The Right Honourable the Governor-General has perused your Memorial to his address renewing your application for a provision from the British Government, and soliciting a letter from his Lordship to the Resident at Lucknow.

(Vide that received 30th of August, 1807).

"The Governor-General is perfectly acquainted with all the circumstances of your situation.

His Lordship observes that a due regard to the principles of Government rendered indispensably necessary those proceedings by which you were required to reside at Patna; that you have no claim whatever to a provision from the British Government; and that the British Government, in consenting to relieve you from the obligation of residing at Patna; in authorizing the Magistrate of that City to furnish

you with a letter of introduction to the Resident at Lucknow; in affording you pecuniary aid for the expenses of your journey to Lucknow; and in conferring on you the distinction of a Khellaut as a testimony of the satisfaction which your conduct has afforded during your residence at Patna, has manifested towards you the utmost limit of favor and indulgence. His Lordship therefore expects, that you will make a just return of gratitude for the favors which you have received, and that you will cease to prefer applications which cannot be complied with, and the reiteration of which after being repeatedly rejected, is inconsistent with the obligations of respect, and with those sentiments of devotion which you uniformly profess towards the British Government."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to Roy Baulik Ram, dated the 3rd November, 1807.

17. "I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th ultimo on the subject of the desire which Roy Baulik Ram has expressed to proceed to the Presidency, and of his having declined acceptance of the sum of 2,000 Rupees which, under his original resolution to return to Lucknow, was offered to him for the purpose of enabling him to defray the expenses of his journey to that place.

With respect to Roy Baulik Ram's desire to proceed to the Presidency, the Governor-General in Council is not aware of any objection to that measure, and observes that when Roy Baulik Ram was released from the obligation of residing at Patna, he received

the permission of Government to select the place of his future residence. His Lordship in Council therefore desires that you will signify to Roy Baulik Ram his compliance with his request to proceed to the Presidency, under his promise not to renew his former application. You will accordingly be pleased to invest Roy Baulik Ram in the name of the Right Honourable the Governor-General with the Khellaut which was authorized by the Instructions conveyed to you in my letter of the 8th May, 1807.

On the subject of Roy Baulik Ram's declining acceptance of the 2,000 Rupees, I am directed to observe that Government, not considering him to possess any claim to a pension, was only induced to offer that sum to him under his supposed inability, from the reiterated representation of his distress, to defray the expenses of his journey to Lucknow for the purpose of settling his affairs. Roy Baulik Ram will of course act as he thinks proper with respect to the acceptance of that donation; but Government cannot consent to afford him any further pecuniary assistance."

Letter from J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, dated Fort William, 18th January, 1808.

A NOTE ON A CURIOUS CUSTOM OF THE SANTAL PARGANAS

By Sarat Chandra Mitra

Men, in a very primitive stage of culture, have always endowed inanimate objects with life and personality and believe that these objects are capable of committing offences and are, therefore, liable to punishment. If a savage in this state of mentality stumbles against a stone and hurts his foot, he would chastise the stone as if it were a living creature which had bitten him. Traces of this state of mentality still survive among the children of civilized men. For instance, if a Bengali child slips his foot upon the floor and falls down thereupon and is pained thereby, or his head accidentally collides against the wall and is hurt or bruised thereby, his or her mother would console him or her by pretending to chastise the offending floor or wall which the child in his or her simplicity, believes has hurt or bruised him or her. According to an ancient English law which has been recently repealed, if a cart ran over a man in the street and killed him, or if a tree fell upon a man and crushed him to death, the cart and the tree used to be forfeited and sold and the sale-proceeds thereof were given to the poor.

Analogous to the aforementioned old English custom of *Deodand* is a curious custom which is pre-

valent in the Santal Parganas of the province of Bihar and Orissa. According to this custom, if a man's beast injures another man's beast, the injuring animal should be given, by way of penalty, to the owner of the injured animal. The prevalence of this custom in the Santal Parganas has been brought to light in the course of the hearing of a quaint case which was decided by a magistrate in Dumka, the headquarters station of the same district, and a short account of which case has been published in the following paragraph in *The Bihar Herald* (published from Bankipur) of Saturday the 18th November, 1933 :—

Interesting Case Decided at Dumka.

A quaint local custom, showing how the owner of an offending buffalo has to compensate the owner of an injured one by presenting him with the animal, was pleaded by an accused person belonging to the Dumka sub-division.

It transpired in the course of the evidence before the Magistrate that Sanu Mallik and several others had taken away a buffalo belonging to Babulal Mallik from the latter's hut.

Sanu, however, defended his action as a rightful one in exercise of a prevailing custom. As the leg of his buffalo had been broken by the complainant's, a *panchayet* was held and his right of possession of the complainant's buffalo was established. Evidence on this point was adduced by Sanu.

The trial has ended in an acquittal.

The aforesaid custom, which is prevalent in the Santal Parganas, is quite in consonance with justice and equity, for the owner of the injured beast suffers

some loss from his animal's having been disabled and, therefore, requires some compensation. The best way of compensating him is to make over the injuring beast to him so that, by employing it or making the best use of it, he may get some return for the value of his disabled animal. This custom bears some sort of analogy to one which is prevalent among the Iroquois, an American tribe of North America among whom a murderer is not punished with death, but has to pay a pecuniary compensation to the surviving relatives of the deceased person. The amount of pecuniary compensation or fine is graduated according to the degree of relationship in which the deceased person stands to his surviving relatives. The old English custom of "*Deodand*" though based on a benevolent motive, was neither equitable nor just, for the beast, or cart, or tree which had killed a man, ought, in all conscience, to have been given to the nearest surviving relative of the deceased, so that the latter might get some sort of compensation either by using it or by selling the same.

Postscript

Since writing the above, I have come to know that, recently, two cases have been tried by the Courts of Justice at Paris, in one of which the accused was a pair of pigeons, and, in the other, the plaintiff was a chimpanzee. In the first of these two cases, the tenant of a tenement in Paris, sued his landlord for damages for loss caused to himself by the leakage of water from the roof of his habitation. The landlord pleaded in self-defence that he was not res-

ponsible for the leakage but that a pair of pigeons, which lived in the neighbourhood and used the roof of the plaintiff's tenement for their resting-place, was responsible for the leakage, inasmuch as they dropped their feathers and excrement there, which blocked up the rain-spout and thus caused the water to leak through the roof. At the suggestion of the court, the pair of pigeons was summoned to appear before the Court; and an advocate was briefed to defend the accused birds. He pleaded strenuously for the accused's innocence but to no purpose. The guilt was brought home to the accused birds; and the Court punished them by ordering them to be banished from the neighbourhood of the plaintiff's tenement.

In the second of these two cases, a film-play was to have been produced, in which one of the incidents was that a monkey should throw imitation cocoanuts from an imitation cocoanut palm-tree upon the heads of passers below. For this purpose, the producer of the play engaged a chimpanzee. But the imitation palm-tree was so unsteady that the anthropoid ape would not climb on to its top and throw the imitation cocoanuts therefrom. On this, the producer of the play dismissed the chimpanzee. The care-taker of the ape, thereupon, sued the producer for damages. The chimpanzee was brought into the court which coaxed it very much to climb upon the tree and to throw the nuts. But, instead of doing so, it climbed upon the railing of the witness-box and was ready to throw the ink-pots and the books upon the heads of the by-standers. Thereupon the court dismissed the plaintiff-chimpanzee's suit with costs which its

care-taker had to pay to the producer (defendant).

Even so late as 1836, a sow, which had killed a baby, was dressed in a woman's garb and executed. A horse, which had kicked a passer-by, was hauled up before the court, was tried and punished according to the degree of his delinquency. In such cases, the accused animals used to be executed after being dressed in a man's or a woman's garb according to their respective sexes.

During the Middle Ages, peasants often brought, before the ecclesiastical courts, cases against moles, caterpillars and green flies for damages caused to their standing crops by these latter; the dignitaries of the Church, who tried these cases, used to find these vermins guilty and delivered their judgments accordingly. An officer of the ecclesiastical court used to take the judgment to the field wherein the vermin lived and to read it out there.

In one case, the owner of a vineyard brought a case against some insect-pests which had caused damages to the vines. An advocate was briefed for defending the accused. He pleaded for his clients by stating that the latter had a right to live in the vineyard and that they would refrain from infesting the grape-vines if they were given a separate plot of land to live upon. This argument so much influenced the Court that it ordered a separate plot of vineyard to be given to the insect-pests for their habitation.

From the foregoing two cases which were recently tried before the Courts of Justice at Paris, we find that even at the present day, there prevails the

belief that even mammals and birds like human beings are responsible for the consequences of their actions.*

*For fuller details, *vide* the article entitled : *Animals on Trial* published in *The Hindu Illustrated Weekly* (published from Madras) for Sunday the 13th January, 1935.

APPENDIX TO J. B. O. R. S., VOL. XXIII

ADHYARDDHASATAKA

"*Hymn of One Hundred-fifty* [Verses]"

By
MĀTṚICEṬA

Edited by
K. P. JAYASWAL
AND
RĀHULA SĀṄKṚITYĀYANA

PREFACE

Adhyarddha-śataka is a famous work by the poet Mâtrceṭa, an elder contemporary of king Kaniṣka (78 A.D.). About the importance of the work and its author I may quote Dr. Winternitz[1].—

King Kaniska at whose Court it is generally assumed that Aśvaghoṣa lived, also invited the poet Mātṛceṭa to the court. Mātrceṭa replied in a letter, called the *Mahārāja-kanika-lekha*, which has come down in the Tibetan language; he asks the king to excuse him, as he is unable to come owing to his great age. The letter is a poem of 85 verses, containing chiefly admonitions to lead a moral life in the spirit of the Buddha. In verses running over with pity, the poet sends his letter by imploring the king most earnestly to spare the creatures of the forest, and to give up the chase. When the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (in the 7th century) was travelling in India, Mātṛceta was a very famous poet, and his hymns to Buddha were sung far and wide. The following legend, which I-tsing heard in India, testifies to his fame. Once when Buddha was walking through the forest, a nightingale began to sing sweet melodies, as though she were praising the glory of the Lord, whereupon Buddha said to his disciples that this nightingale would once be reborn as Mātṛceta. His most famous hymns are the Catuḥ-Śataka Stotra, "the Hymn of Four Hundred verses," and the Śatapañcāśika Stotra, "the Hymn of One Hundred and Fifty verses." Fragments of both of these have come down to us in Central Asian manuscripts. They are poems in Ślokas, in simple and unadorned but beautiful language, and they evidently impressed the faithful more by their pious thoughts than by their form. It is delightful, says I-tsing, to hear his "Hymn of 150 Verses" or

[1] *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 270-271

"Hymn of 400 Verses" recited in the assembly of monks. "These charming compositions," he says further, "are equal in beauty to the heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain, rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain. Consequently in India all who compose hymns imitate his style, considering him the father of literature. Even men like the Bodhisattvas Asaṅga and Vasubandhu admired him greatly. Throughout India everyone who becomes a monk is taught Mātrceṭa's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts (Śīla). This course is adopted by both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna schools." I-tsing cannot find words sufficient to extol the merits of these poems and he adds that there have been many commentators and imitators too. Thus the "Bodhisattva Jina" (an honourable title of the logician Dignāga) composed one verse to be placed before each of the one hundred and fifty verses of the Śatapañcāśika Stotra, and in this way compiled a hymn of 300 verses, known as the "mixed Hymn of praise."[1] I-tsing himself translated the "Hymn of 150 verses" into Chinese, and there are Tibetan translations of both hymns."

Śatapañcāśika[2] is a restoration from Tibetan into Sanskrit. The original name which is found in our manuscript, is Adhyarddha-Śataka. On the first cover leaf we also find the name *Vṛtta-Śataka-Stotra* which does not show an appropriate name of the work. Anyhow Adhyarddha-Śataka is no doubt the real name which means 150 verses.

Basing their support on Tibetan tradition some orientalists[3] think that Mātṛceṭa and Aśvaghoṣa are the same personality but that tradition is not supported by

[1] *Miśraka-stotra.*

[2] *JBORS.*, Vol. XXIII, part I, page 26.

[3] For further discussion see *Journal Asiatique*—Janvier-Mars 1936, pp. 62-121.

Indian or Chinese traditions. We know our manuscript gives the author's name as Mātṛceṭa but its Tibetan translation ascribes it to Aśvaghoṣa. We are not in a position to ascertain when this tradition began in Tibet.

Our reasons against the identification of Mātṛceṭa with Aśvaghoṣa are :—

(*i*) The Tibetan tradition at least in this respect is not trustworthy since it also identifies Mātṛceṭa and Aśvaghoṣa both with Āryasūra ; (*ii*) in the colophon of the works of Aśvaghoṣa, generally, his name is given as "Sāketaka Āryasuvarṇākṣīputra" which is absent in both the present manuscript and its Tibetan translations ; (*iii*) from the Chinese sources it is clear that both the names Mātṛceṭa and Aśvaghoṣa were equally famous in the Buddhist world when the Chinese pilgrims were in India, which goes against the identification of the two. If both were identical Chinese pilgrims ought to have referred to it in some place. (*iv*) king Kaniṣka invited Mātṛceṭa to his Capital. But he could not comply with the wishes as he was too old. His epistles to that king show that Mātṛceṭa did not go to the court of the king while Aśvaghoṣa was one of the active members of the Buddhist Council which was held under the patronage of Kaniṣka. (*v*) If we compare the present work with Buddha-Carita and Saundara-nanda, the two works by Aśvaghoṣa, we will find that the authors differ materially in their style, language and similes.

The popularity of Adhyarddha-śataka is due not only to its simplicity, good choice of words and easy and graceful style but it also serves the purpose of a manual of Buddhism for the novices. The chapters contain :

I. The purpose of composition.
II. Buddha's struggle for the perfection of his life.
III. His unparalleled qualities.
IV. His wonderful deeds.
V. His perfection of body.
VI. His great mercy.
VII. His power and perfection of speech.
VIII. His spotless law.
IX. The benefits derived from the Buddha's deeds
X. His perfect method of conversion.
XI. He suffered great hardships in the attainment of the Buddhahood.
XII. His cleverness in the method of teaching.
XIII. His great debt to humanity.

The work is based on the ancient Buddhist canon. In some places like the ślokas 12, 13, 17 and 18, Jātaka stories are pointed out; the ślokas 89, 111, 115 and 125 point to some events found in the Suttapiṭaka.

It is a mistake to imagine traces of Mahāyāna in any work which eulogises the sublime ideal of Bodhisattva. Such praise of a life of self-denial and suffering for the benefit of others is common to both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools. The Jātaka stories of the Hīnayāna school are nothing but attempts to popularise the high ideal of a Bodhisattva. We find such passages in this work but on account of that it will be wrong to assume that Maṭrceṭa has some leanings towards the Mahāyāna school. The invention of Trikāya (three bodies) i.e. Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya and Niramāṇakāya, is no doubt the speciality of the Mahāyāna school, but from the verse 146, we know that our poet has no notion

of the theory of three bodies. There, instead of three bodies, he mentions only two Dharmakāya (the body of law) and Rūpakāya (the material body)—which is the notion found in the Hīnayāna canon. In the *Mahāparinibbāṇasutta* of the Dīghanikāya we find the Buddha exhorting his disciples at the time of his death to take refuge in the Dharma after the demise of his physical body.

Ms.

It was by a mere accident that I got five old palm leaves[1] in a very brittle state while exploring the manuscript library of Chag-pe-lha-khang of Lha-khang-chen-mo (Sa-skya) amongst the heap of many thousand Tibetan and Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts. I was astonished to find it, the famous poem of Mātṛceṭa. The leaves are of the size of $21\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$, each page containing 6 lines. The script is kuṭilā, what is called in Tibetan Var-ṭu (vartula). From the colophon we know that manuscript originally belonged to the Buddhist monk (Su)nayaśrīmitra.

Sunayaśrī was a famous Nepalese scholar who went to Tibet for the translation of Buddhist scriptures during the reign of king Ḥod Lde[2] (1060 A.C.).

Sunayaśrī founded a vihāra in the town of Pāṭan (Nepal) where they had very important collections of ancient Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts. I visited it in the month of November, on my return from Tibet

[1] *JBORS.*, XXIII, part I, p. 26 (no. 202).

[2] Buddhism in Tibet (तिब्बतमें बौद्ध-धर्म) appendix 16.

in 1934, in which year there was a great earthquake in the month of January. The vihāra was completely destroyed and I heard the heart-rending tragedy of those precious manuscripts. While the earthquake did great harm to the palaces of Kāthmāndu, Pāṭan and Bhātgaon and destroyed many historical temples, it also perpetrated many more cruel acts. One such event was told by the royal preceptor (Pt. Hemarāja Śarman), about the Sunayaśrī Vihāra in Pāṭan. In the store-house (Bhanḍār) on the upper story of the temple, there were about 70 or 75 very old palm-leaf manuscripts. The royal-preceptor many times tried his best to examine them but the custodian priests did not allow him on religious ground. During the last earthquake this vihāra was razed to the ground. Like other Nepalese vihāras (monasteries) this one is also converted into a laymen's residence. The people were provided with 40 or 50 workmen to help them in clearing the débris and removing the valuables. They utilized their services for the removal of their personal belongings and they did not care for the priceless manuscripts, since they were under the common custody. They were left to their fate. At the time when the rainy season was at its close, the royal-preceptor happened to be in that locality. At the sight of the place he remembered the manuscripts which he had so longingly wanted to see.

"There was a monastery here, which had some very old palm-leaf manuscripts." He asked.

"Why here it is razed to the ground. This is the ruin of that very temple." Was the reply he got.

"Where are those palm-leaf books?"

"They are buried under these débris."

"What ! throughout the summer and the whole rainy season ?"

It was a great shock to the veteran scholar whose love of ancient manuscripts is proverbial.

He at once collected some workmen and began to dig the particular spot where the old library stood. But to his utter disgust he got nothing but the wood covers of those precious things. The rest was rotten and transformed into soft clay.

In the same vihāra there was a stucco image of Sunayaśrī, the upper portion of which was only preserved when I saw it. The remaining portion was destroyed during the earthquake. The image was life-like and a good piece of art. Not much care was bestowed on the preservation of the statue. I drew the attention of some of the prominent people, but I do not know if the image was taken any special care of.

The numerous mistakes found in the manuscripts show that its owner had very scanty knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. I am giving here the list of some of the common mistakes :

ब	=	व	द	=	द्	सु	=	शु
म्म	=	र्म्मं	श	=	स	पान्सु	=	पांसु
नेनां	=	नैनां	ञ्ज	=	ज्ञ	श्राशु	=	स्राशु
न्तं	=	न्त:	प	=	य	स	=	शं
स	=	श	ता	=	तं	सा	=	शा
उष्ण	=	दुष्क	र्शं	=	र्षं	स	=	श
जा	=	या	सि	=	शि	सूर	=	सुर

Translation into Tibetan

Adhyarddha-śataka was translated into Tibetan by Śraddhākaravarman (1040 A.C.) with the help of Lo-tsa-va Śakya-blo-gros.

The work was planned to appear under the joint editorship of the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and myself. Since my late lamented friend answered the call from beyond, I was left alone to carry on the burden on my weak shoulders with a heavy heart.

Patna   Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana.
21-8-1937.

आचार्य्यमातृचेटप्रणीतं

अध्यर्द्धशतकम्

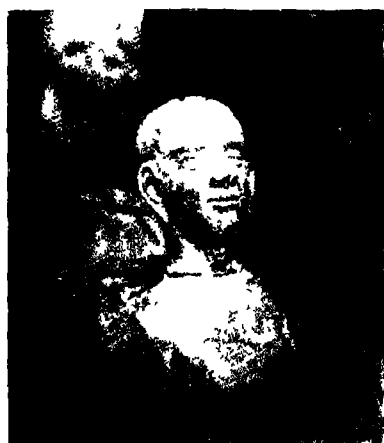
काशीप्रसादजायसवाल-राहुलसांकृत्यायनाभ्यां
सम्पादितम्

MSS. CONSULTED

AS. Palm Leaf MS. in the Chhag-pe-lha-khang (Lha-khang-Chen-mo) of Sa-skya monastery (Tibet); which is the base of our text.

ANT. Nar-thang edition of Tanjur Bstod-tshogs ka pp. 122-29 (Block-print)

HS. A.F. Rudolf Hoernle's *manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan* Vol. 1 (oxford, 1916, pp. 58-75) on verses 23-38, 48-74, 117-131, 144-150.

VP. (M.V. Poussin, JRAS. 1911; p. 764)

SunayaśrīMitra (1060 A.C.) of Nepal,
the original owner of the MS.

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* वबकयोरभेदः, अनुस्वारस्य नत्वं सकारे परे बहुत्र दृश्यते

[1] ANT. सर्वप्रकारेण [2] ANT. नात्तसारां० कथमात्मजिह्वां च तद् धियं [3] ANT. तदेकदेशयत्नः [4] ANT. प्रभूतामितकर्मणे

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[1] ANT. असम्बद्धः [2] ANT. कदाचित्

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[1] HS. सारमे· · ·। [2] ANT. त्वया सन्निहितम् ॥ HS. सूक्तं दुक्तं तु ॥ [3] HS. क्रीणता। [4] ANT. तव। [5] HS. अह्वन्द्वि०। [6] HS. यथा। [7] HS. ० मिक्ष्यते।

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[1] HS. ०पक्ष०। [2] HS. अकम्प्ये। [3] HS. न च वाग्बुद्धि-देहानां। [4] तत्र वहि: पंक्ति—प्रत्याख्यातमित्यर्थ:। [5] Ibid—वराका:। [6] ANT. महविव [7] ANT. अद्दधानं [8] ANT. माराभिशमनं [9] ANT. क्लेशवर्जनं [10] ANT. तमो विक्षमनं भानोर्यत् [11] ANT कि तीर्थ्य०

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3a ५४—अ(ा)सेचनकभावाद्धि सौम्यभावाच्च ते वपुः।
दर्शने दर्शने प्रीतिं विदधाति नवान्नवां॥(३)

५५—अधिष्ठानगुणैर्गात्रमधिष्ठातृगुणैर्गुणाः[१२]।
परया सम्पदोपेतास्तवान्योन्यानुरूपया॥(४)

५६—क्वान्यत्र सन्निविष्टाः स्युरिमे ताथागता गुणाः[१३]।
ऋते रूपात्तवैवास्माल्लक्षणव्यक्तितोज्ज्वलात्[१४]॥(५)

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*HS. ते।

[१]VP. HS. सङ्गोस्ति (V. Poussin Stein Ms.) [२]VP. HS तृष्णो [३]VP. HS. बलस्य [४]VP. HS. चेतो [५]VP. HS. नित्यं [६]VP. HS. प्रत्यक्षमेव [७]VP. HS. प्रसिद्धयन्ते [८]VP. उत्तम [९]AS. नाक्षिप्तेत् [१०]AS. सततो [११]VP. HS. ० रिवम् [१२]VP. गण. ANT. मिथः [१३]VP. ANT. HS. ० सुस्थितो भूयावयं तथागतो गुणः [१४]ANT. HS. ० लक्षणव्यञ्जनोज्ज्वलात्

५७—धन्यमस्मीति ते रूपं वदतीवा[1]श्रिता[१]न् गुणान् ।
सुनिक्षिप्ता वयमिति[२] प्रत्याहुरिव[३] तद्गुणाः ॥ (६)
रूपस्तवो नाम पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ॥ ॥

(६—करुणास्तवः)

५८—सर्वमेवाविशेषेण क्लेशैर्बद्धमिदञ्जगत् ।
त्वं जगत्क्लेशमोक्षार्थ[४]म्बद्धः[५] करुणया चिरं ॥ (१)
५९—कन्नु प्रथमतो वन्दे त्वाम्महाकरुणामुत ।
ययैवमपि दोषज्ञः त्वं संसारे धृतश्चिरं ॥ (२)
६०—विवेकसुखसात्म्य[६]स्य यदाकीर्णस्य ते गता[७] ।
काला लब्धप्रसरया तत्ते करुणया कृत[८] ॥ (३)
६१—शान्तादरण्याद् ग्रामान्तं त्वं हि नाग इव ह्रदात् ।
विनेयार्थं करुणया विद्ययेवावकृ[९]ष्यसे ॥ (४)
६२—परमोपस(?श)मस्थोपि करुणापरवत्तया ।
कारितन्त्वम्पदन्यासं[१०] कुशीलवकलास्वपि ॥ (५)
६३—ऋद्धिर्या सिंहनादा ये[3](?) स्वगुणोद्भावनाश्च या. ।
वान्तेच्छोपविचारस्य कारुण्ये निकषस्स[११] ते ॥ (६)
६४—परार्थैकान्तकल्याणि[१२] कामं स्वाश्रयनिष्ठुरा[१३] ।
त्वय्येव केवलन्नाथ करुणाऽकरुणाऽभवत्[१४] ॥ (७)
६५—तथा हि[१५] कृत्वा शतधा[१६] धीरा बलिमिव क्वचित् ।
परेषामर्थसिद्ध्यर्थं त्वाम्विक्षिप्तवतीदृ[१७]शः ॥ (८)
६६—त्वदिच्छयैव तु व्यक्तमनुकूला प्रवर्त्तते ।
तथा[४] हि वाधमानापि त्वा सती नापराध्यते ॥ (९)
करुणास्तवो नाम षष्ठः परिच्छेदः ॥ ॥

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[१]VP. ० वाश्रितां [२]VP. HS. वयमपि [३]HS. ० रेव। [४]VP. ० मोक्षार्थो ० चितः [५]HS. धृतः or यतः। [६]ANT. विवेकसुखस्पवतस्य [७] ANT. यद् गणान्तर्गमनम् [८]VP. HS. मतं [९]VP. विद्ययैवागतः पुनः [१०]ANT. कारितस्त्वत्पदन्यासः VP. HS. ० पदं नाथ [११]VP. HS कारुण्यनिकषस्स ते [१२]VP. परार्थैकान्तभद्राऽपि ANT. परार्थैकान्त-भद्राऽपि [१३] VP. HS. स्वार्थेष्वाशय० ANT. स्वार्थे निष्ठुरा [१४] HS. भवेत्। [१५]VP. ANT. तथाहि। AS. भवे हि [१६]AS. सतधा। HS. बहुधा। [१७]VP. HS. विशः ANT. ० तीवृषी

(७—वचनस्तवः)

६७—सुपदा[1] नि महार्थानि तथ्यानि मधुराणि च।
गूढोत्तानोभयार्थानि समासव्यासवन्ति च ॥(१)

६८—कस्य न स्यादुपश्रुत्य वाक्यान्येवम्विधानि ते।
त्वयि प्रतिहतस्यापि सर्व्वज्ञ इति निश्चयः ॥(२)

६९—प्राये[2]ण मधुरं स[3]र्व्वमगत्या किञ्चिदन्यथा।
वाक्यन्तवार्थसिध्या तु[3] सर्व्वमेव सुभाषितम् ॥(३)

७०—यच्छ्लक्ष्णं यच्च परुष यद्वा तदुभयान्वितं।
सर्व्वमेवैकरसताम्विचार्ययति[4] ते वच. ॥(४)

७१—अहो सुपरि[5]शुद्धाना कर्म्मणा नैपुणं परं।
यैरिदं वाक्यरत्नानामीदृश भाजनं कृतं ॥(५)

3b ७२—अस्माद्धि ने[6]नेत्रसुभगादिद श्रुति[6]मनोहरं।
मुखात् क्षरति ते वा[7]क्यञ्चन्द्राद् द्रवमि[8]वामृतं ॥(६)

७३—रागरेणु प्रशमयद् वाक्यन्ते जलदायते।
वैनतेयायते द्वेषभुज[9]ङ्गोद्धरणं प्रति ॥(७)

७४—दिवाकरायते[10] भूयोप्यज्ञानतिमिरन्नुदत्।
शक्रायुधायते मानगिरीनभिविदारयत् ॥(८)

७५—दृष्टार्थत्वादवितथं नि.क्लेशत्वादनाकुलं।
गमकं सुप्र[1]युक्तत्वात् त्रिकल्याण हि ते वचः ॥(९)

७६—मनांसि तावच्छ्रोतॄणां हरन्त्यादौ वचांसि ते।
ततो विमृष्यमाणानि रजांसि च तमासि च ॥(१०)

७७—आश्वासन व्यसनिना त्रासन च प्रमादिनां।
सम्वेजनं च सुखिनां योगवाहि वचस्तव ॥(११)

७८—विदुषा प्रीतिजनन मध्यानाम्बुद्धिबर्द्धनं।
तिमिरघ्नञ्च मन्दाना सार्व्वजन्यमि[?]दम्वचः ॥(१२)

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[1]AS. सूपादीनि [2]VP. ANT. प्रेयस् [3]VP. ANT. अपि [4]AS. ० मर्वेपीति [5]AS. सुपरिसु० [6]AS. अस्माद् विनेव [7]VP. वचनं [8]VP. HS. ० विवामृतं [9]VP. सर्प [10]VP. मध्यन्दिनायते ANT. आतपत्रायते

७९—अपकर्षति दृष्टिभ्यो निर्वाणमुपकर्षति ।
दोषान्निःकर्षति गुणान् वाक्यन्तेभिप्रवर्षति ॥ (१३)
८०—सर्व्वत्राव्याहता बुद्धिः सर्व्वत्रोपस्थिता स्मृतिः ।
अवन्ध्यन्तेन[1] सर्व्वत्र सर्व्वम्व्याकरणन्तव ॥ (१४)
८१—यन्नादेशे न चाकाले नैवापात्रे प्रवर्त्तसे ।
वीर्यं सम्यगिवारब्धन्तेनामोघम्वचस्तव ॥ (१५)

वचनस्तवो नाम सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ॥०॥

(८—शासनस्तवः)

८२—एकायन सुखोपायं स्वनुबन्धि निरत्ययं ।
आदिमध्यान्तकल्याणन्तव नान्यस्य शासनं ॥ (१)
८३—एवमेकान्तकान्तन्ते दृष्टिरागेण वालिसा (?शा.) ।
मत यदि विगर्हन्ति नास्ति दृष्टिसमो रिपुः ॥ (२)
८४—अन्यं (?)[2] भुङ्क्त्वा यदस्यार्थे जगतो व्यसन बहु ।[4]
तत्संस्मृत्य विरूपेपि स्थेयन्ते शासने भवेत् ॥ (३)
८५—प्रागेव हितवक्तुश्च हितकर्तुश्च शासन ।
कथन्न नाम कार्यं स्यादादीप्तशिरसापि ते ॥ (४)
८६—भुजिष्यता बोधिसुखं त्वद्गुणापचितिः शम. ।
प्राप्यते त्वन्मतात् सर्व्वमिद भद्रचतुष्टयं ॥ (५)
८७—त्रासनं सर्व्वतीर्थ्यानां नमुचेरुपतापनं ।
आश्वासनन्नृदेवानान्तवेदं वीर शासन ॥ (६)
८८—त्रैधातुकमहाभे[3]ममसङ्गमनवग्रहं ।
शासनेन तवाक्रान्तमन्तकस्यापि शासनं ॥ (७)
८९—त्वच्छासननयज्ञो हि तिष्ठेत् कल्पमपीच्छया ।
प्रयाति तत्र तु स्वैरी यत्र मृत्योरगोचरः ॥ (८)
९०—आगमस्यार्थचिन्ताया भावनोपासनस्य च ।
का(ल)त्रयविभागोऽस्ति नान्यत्र तव शासनात् ॥ (९)

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[1] ANT. अबन्ध्यं तेन [2] ANT. अन्यद्
[3] ANT. ० महाभौम०

९१—एवं कल्याणकलिलन्त[1] वेदमृषिपुङ्गव।
शासनं नाद्रियन्ते यत् किं वैश(श)तरन्ततः[2] ॥(१०)

शासनस्तवो नामाष्टमः परिच्छेदः ॥०॥

(९—प्रणिधिस्तवः)

९२—श्रवणं तर्पयति ते प्रसादयति दर्शनं।
वचनं ह्लादयति ते विमोचयति शासनं॥(१)

९३—प्रसूतिर्हर्षयति [1] ते बुद्धिर्न्नन्दयति प्रजाः।
प्रवृत्तिरनुगृह्णाति निवृत्तिरुपहन्ति च॥(२)

९४—कीर्तनङ्किल्विषहर स्मरण ते प्रमोदन।
अन्वेषणम्मतिकरं परिज्ञानं विशोधन॥(३)

९५—श्रीकरन्तेभिगमन सेवन धीकरम्परं।
भजनन्निर्भयकरं शङ्करं पर्युपासन॥(४)

९६—शीलोपसस्पदा शुद्धः प्रसन्नो ध्यानसम्पदा।[2]
त्वं प्रज्ञ(या) सदाक्षोभ्यो ह्रदः पुण्यमयो महान्॥(५)

९७—रूपन्द्रष्टव्यरत्नन्ते श्रव्यरत्नं सुभाषित।
धर्म्मो विचारणारत्न गुणरत्नाकरो ह्यसि[3]॥(६)

९८—त्वमोघैरुह्यमानाना द्वीपस्त्राणं क्षतात्मना।
शरणम्भवभीरूणा मुमुक्षूणाम्परायणं॥(७)

९९—सत्पात्रं शुद्धवृत्तत्वात् सत्क्षेत्र फलसम्पदा।
सन्मित्र हितकारित्वात् सर्व्वप्राणिभृतामसि॥(८)

१००—प्रियस्त्वमुपकारित्वात् सुर(?सुर)तत्वान्मनोहर.।
एकान्तकान्तः सौम्यत्वात् सर्व्वैर्बहुमतो गुणै.॥(९)

१०१—ह्द्योसि निरवद्यत्वाद् रम्यो वाग्रूपसौष्ठवात्।
धन्यः सर्व्वार्थसिद्धत्वान्म(I)ङ्गल्यो गुणसंश्रयात्॥१०)

प्रणिधिस्तवो नाम नवमः परिच्छेदः ॥०॥

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[1] ANT. कल्याणकलितं
[2] ANT. किं वै दुःखतरन्ततः
[3] ANT. त्वञ्च रत्नाकरो०

(१०–मार्ग्गावतारस्तवः)

१०२–स्थायिनान्त्वं परिक्षेप्ता वि[4]नियन्तापहारिणां।
समाधाता विजिम्हाना प्रेरको मन्दगामिनां॥(१)

१०३–नियोक्ता धुरि[1] दान्तानां खट्व(?)ङ्कानामुपेक्षकः।
अतोसि नरदम्यानां सत्सारथिरनुत्तरः॥(२)

१०४–आपन्नेष्वनुकम्पा ते प्रभ्यस्थे (?)[2] ष्वर्थकामता।
व्यसनस्थेषु कारुण्य सर्वेषु हितकाम्यता॥(३)

१०५–विरुद्धेष्वपि वात्सल्य प्रवृतिः[3] प[5]तितेष्वपि।
रौद्रेष्वपि कृपालुत्व का नामेयन्तवार्यता॥(४)

१०६–गुरुत्वमुपकारित्वान्मातापित्रोर्यदिष्यते।
केदानीमस्ति गुरुता त्वय्यत्यन्तोपकारिणि॥(५)

१०७–स्वकार्यनिरपेक्षाणा विरुद्धानामिवात्मना।
त्वं प्रपातटमर्थीना[4] प्राकारत्वमुपागतः॥(६)

4b १०८–लोकद्वयोपकाराय लोकातिक्रमणाय [6]च।
तमोभूतेषु लोकेषु प्रज्ञालोककृते त्वया॥(७)

१०९–भिन्ना देवमनुष्याणामुपभोगेषु वृत्तयः।
धर्म्मसभोगसामान्यास्त्वय्यसम्भेदमागताः॥(८)

११०–उपपत्तिवयोवल्गु[5]देशकालनिरत्यय।
त्वया हि भगवन् धर्म्मसर्वातिथ्यमिद कृतं॥(९)

१११–अविस्मितान् विस्मितवत् स्पृहयन्तो गतस्पृहान्।
उपासते [1] प्राञ्जलय. श्रावकानपि ते सुराः॥(१०)

११२–अहो संसारमण्डस्य बुद्धोत्पादस्य दीप्तता।
मानुष्यं यत्र देवाना स्पृहणीयत्वमागत॥(११)

मार्ग्गावतारस्तवो नाम दशमः परिच्छेदः॥ ॥

(११–दुष्करस्तवः)

११३–खेद. शम[6]सुखज्यानिरसज्जनसमागमः।
द्वन्द्वान्याकीर्ण्णता चेति दोषांश्च[7] न (?) गुणवद् बहून्॥(१)

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[1]ANT. पथि [2]ANT. सुखस्थे [3]ANT. उपकारः [4]ANT. प्रपाततमः स्थानां [5]ANT. विद्या [6]ANT. सम [7]ANT. दोषान्

११४–जगद्धिता[१]र्थंध्यवासि[१] यदसङ्गेन चेतसा।
का नामासौ भगवती बुद्धानाम्बुद्धधर्मता॥(२)

११५–कदन्नान्यपि भुक्तानि क्वचित् क्षुदधिवासिता।
पन्थानो विषमा. क्षुण्णाः सुप्तं[२] गोकण्टकेष्वपि॥(३)

११६–प्राप्ता. क्षेपावृता[३] सेवा वेशभाषान्तरं[४] कृतं।
नाथ वैनेयवात्सल्यात् प्रभुणापि सता त्वया॥(४)

११७–प्रभुत्वमपि[३] ते नाथ सदा नात्मनि विद्यते।
वक्तव्य [५]इव सर्वैर्हि स्वैर स्वार्थे नियुज्यसे॥(५)

११८–येन केनचिदेव त्व यत्र तत्र यथा तथा।
चोदितः[६] स्वा प्रतिपदं कल्याणीन्नातिवर्त्तसे॥(६)

११९–नोपकारपरेप्येवमुपकारपरो जनः।
अपकारपरेपि त्वमुपकारपरो यथा॥(७)

१२०–अहितावहिते शत्रौ [४] त्व हितावहित सुहृत्।
दोषान्वेषणनित्येपि गुणान्वेषणतत्पर.॥(८)

१२१–यतो निमन्त्रणन्तेभूत् सविष सहुताशन।
तत्राभूदभिसंयान सदय सामृतञ्च ते॥(९)

१२२–आक्रोष्टारो[७] जिता. क्षान्त्या द्रोग्धा[८] स्वस्त्ययनेन च।
सत्येन चापवक्तारस्त्वया मैत्र्या जिघासव॥(१०)

१२३–अनादिकालप्रहुता बह्व्य. प्रकृतयो नृणा।
त्वया विभावितापाया. क्षणेन परिवर्त्तिता॥(११)

दुष्करस्तवो नाम एकादशमः प(रि)च्छेदः॥ ॥

(१२–कौशलस्तवः)

१२४–यत् सौरत्यङ्ग गतास्तीक्ष्णा कदर्याश्च वदा[९]न्यता।
क्रूरा. पेशलतां यातास्तत् तवोपायकौशल॥(१)[6]

5a १२५–इन्द्रियोपशमो नन्दे मानस्तब्धे च सन्नतिः।
क्षमित्वञ्चाङ्गुलीमाले कन्न विस्मयमानयेत्॥(२)

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[१]ANT. ०तार्थरक्तोसि [२]VP. HS. सुप्तो [३]VP. प्राज्याक्षेपा कृता। HS. प्रज्याक्षेपाकृते। [४]VP. विषभाषान्तरं। HS. वेष०। [५]ANT. वास [६]HS. चोदिताः। [७]VP. आक्रोष्धार [८]VP. HS. द्रुग्धाः [९]VP. HS. वदभुताम्

१२६—बहुवस्तृणशय्यासु हित्वा शय्या[१] हिरण्मयी।
अशेरत[२] सुखन्धीरास्तृप्ता धर्म्मरसस्य ते॥(३)

१२७—पृष्टेनापि क्वचिन्नोक्तमुपेत्यापि कथा कृता।
तर्पयित्वा[३] परत्रोक्तं कालाशयविदा त्वया॥(४)

१२८—पूर्वन्दानकथाद्या[1]भिश्चेतस्युत्पाद्य सौष्ठव।
ततो धर्म्मो गतमले वस्त्रे रङ्ग इवार्पितः॥(५)

१२९—न सोस्त्युपायः शक्यो वा[४] येन न व्यायतन्त्वया।
घोरात् संसारपातालादुद्धर्त्तुं कृपणं जगत्॥(६)

१३०—बहूनि[५] बहुरूपाणि वचांसि चरितानि च।
विनेयाशयभेदेन तत्र तत्र शतानि[६] ते॥(७)

१३१—विशुद्धान्यविरुद्धानि पूजितान्यर्जि[४]तानि[७] च।
सर्व्वाण्येव नृदेवानां हितानि महितानि च॥(८)

१३२—न हि कर्त्तुञ्च वक्तुञ्च बहु साधु च शक्यते।
अन्यथानन्यथावादिन् दृष्टन्तदुभयन्त्वयि॥(९)

१३३—केवलात्मविशुद्ध्यैव त्वया पूतञ्जगद् भवेत्।
यस्मान्नैवम्विधं क्षेत्रन्त्रिषु लोकेषु विद्यते॥(१०)

१३४—प्रागेवात्यन्तनष्टानामनादौ भवसंकटे।
हि[ं]ताय सर्वसत्वानां यस्त्वमेवं समुद्यत.॥(११)

कौशलस्तवो नाम [द्वा]दशमः परिच्छेदः॥०॥

(१३—आनृण्यस्तवः)

१३५—न ता प्रतिपदम्वेषि स्याद् ययापचितिस्तव।
अपि ये परिनिर्व्वान्ति तेपि ते नानृणा जना॥(१)

१३६—तव ते च स्थिता धर्मे स्वार्थमेव तु कुर्वते।
यः श्रमस्तन्निमित्तन्तु तव का तस्य निष्कृति॥[१](२)

१३७—त्व हि जागर्षि सुप्ताना सन्तानान्यवलोकयन्॥
अप्रमत्तः प्रमत्ताना सत्वानाम्भद्रबान्धवः॥(३)

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[१] VP. HS. शय्या हिरण्मयाः [२] AS. असेरत। HS. आशेरते।
[३] ANT. उपगम्य [४] VP. न कोप्युपायश्शक्योस्ति, ANT. ० चर्या वा
[५] ANT. वपूंषि [६] ANT. कृतानि [७] ANT. अर्हितानि

१३८—क्लेशानां बध आख्यातो मारमाया विघाटिता[1]।
　　उक्तं संसारदौरात्म्यमभया दिग् विदर्शिता॥(४)

१३९—किमन्यदर्थकामेन सत्वाना करुणायता।
　　करणीयम्भवेद् यत्र न दत्तानुनयो[5] भवान्॥(५)

१४०—यदि संचारिणो धर्म्माः स्युरिमे नियत त्वया।
　　देवदत्तमुपादाय सर्व्वत्र स्युर्न्निवेशिताः॥(६)

१४१—अत एव ज(ग)न्नाथ नेहान्योन्यस्य कारक.।
　　इति त्वमुक्तवान् भूतञ्जगत् संज्ञपयन्निव॥(७)

१४२—चिराय भुवि सद्धर्म्मं प्रेर्य लोकानुकम्पया।
　　बहूनुत्पाद्य सच्छिष्यास्त्रै[6]लोक्यानुग्रहक्षमान्॥(८)

१४३—साक्षाद् विनेयवर्गीयान् सुभद्रान्तान्विनीय च।
　　ऋणशेष किमद्यापि सत्वेषु यदभूत्तव॥(९)

१४४—यस्त्वं समाधिवज्रेण तिलशोऽस्थीनि चूर्णयन्।
　　अतिदुष्करकारित्वमन्तेपि न विमुक्तवान्॥(१०)

१४५—परार्थविव मे[2] धर्म्मरूपकाया[2]विति त्वया।
　　उष्ण (?दुष्क)रस्यास्य[3] लोकस्य निर्वाणे[1]पि विदर्शितम्॥(११)

१४६—तया हि सत्सु[4] सक्राम्य[5] धर्म्मकायमशेषत॰।
　　तिलशो रूपकाय[6]ञ्च भि[7]त्वासि परिनिर्वृतः॥१२()

१४७—अहो स्थितिरहो वृत्तमहो[8] रूपमहो गुणा।
　　न नाम बुद्धधर्म्माणामस्ति कि[9]ञ्चिदनद्भुतं॥(१३)

१४८—उपकारिणि चक्षुष्ये[10] शान्तवाक्कायकर्म्मणि।
　　त्वय्यपि प्रति हन्यन्ते[2] पश्य मोह[11]स्य रौद्रतां॥(१४)

१४९—पुण्योदधिं रत्ननिधिं धर्म्मराशिं गुणाकरं।
　　ये त्वा सत्वा नमस्यन्ति तेभ्योपि सुकृतन्नमः॥(१५)

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[1] ANT. निर्दशिता　[2] VP. ANT. पदार्थमेवेमे॰ कायाः कृता इति।　[3] VP. त्वया विश्वासिलोकेऽस्मिन् निर्वाणमुपदर्शितम्। ANT. दुरास्थ्यमस्य॰　[4] ANT. सुतेषु　[5] HS. सङ्क्रम्य　[6] VP. ॰मान्विद्य स्वमेव परि॰　[7] HS. हित्वासि　[8] VP. HS. अहोनीतिरहो स्थानमहो　[9] VP. कश्चिदविस्मयः　[10] VP. ANT. हितक्षेत्रसुभगे। HS. चाक्षुषे।　[11] VP. मोहा अमर्षणाः

१५०–अक्षयास्ते गुणा नाथ शक्ति[१]स्तु क्षयिणी मम।
अत प्रसङ्गभीरुत्वात् स्थीयते न वितृप्तित ॥(१६)

१५१–अप्रमेयमसङ्ख्येयमचिन्त्यमनिदर्शन ।
स्वय[३]मेवात्मना[२]त्मान त्वमेव ज्ञातुमर्हसि॥(१७)

१५२–न ते गुणाङ्शावयवोपि कीर्त्तित परा च नस्तुष्टिरवस्थिता हृदि।
अकर्षणेनैव महाह्लदाम्भसा जनस्य तर्षा प्रशम[३] व्रजन्ति ह॥(१८)

१५३–फलोदयेनास्य शुभस्य कर्मणो मुनिप्रसादप्रतिभोद्भवस्य मे।
असद्वितर्क्काकुलमारु[४]तेरित प्रयातु चित्त जगता विधेयना॥ (१९)

आनृण्यस्तवो नाम त्रयोदशम परिच्छेद ॥ ॥

अध्यर्द्धशतक समाप्तम्॥
कृतिराचार्यमातृचेटस्य॥[४]
ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्र(भ)वा हेतुन्तेपान्तथागतो ह्यवदत् (।)
तेषाञ्च यो निरोध ग्वम्वादी महाश्रमण॥

देय धर्म्मोय[५] प्रवरमहायानजा(?या)यिना परम सा(?शा)क्यभिक्षु (मु)-नयश्रीमित्र(स्य1070A C.) यदत्र पुण्यन्तव(?द्) भवत्वाआ(?) चार्यो-पाध्यायमातापितृपूर्व्वङ्गमङ्कृत्वा श(?स)कलसत्वरासे(?शे)रनुत्तरज्ञानफल(ा)-वाप्तय इति॥०॥

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[१] VP. क्षीणन्तु चेतन मम [२] VP भवतो हि स्वरूपत्व स्वम्येव ज्ञायते स्वय [३] AS प्रसमं [४] ANT महापण्डिताचार्यब्राह्मणा श्व घो षे ण कृतमध्यर्द्धशतकस्तोत्र समाप्तम्। भारतीयपण्डितेन श्रद्धाकरवर्मणा (1040 AC) लो(क)च(क्षुषा) शाक्यमतिना चानूदितम्।

APPENDIX I

	श्लोकाङ्क		श्लोकाङ्क
अङ्गुलीमालम्	१२५	नमूचि	८७
देवदत्त	१४०	भगवान्	४,११०
नन्द.	१२५	मार	४२,१३८

APPENDIX II